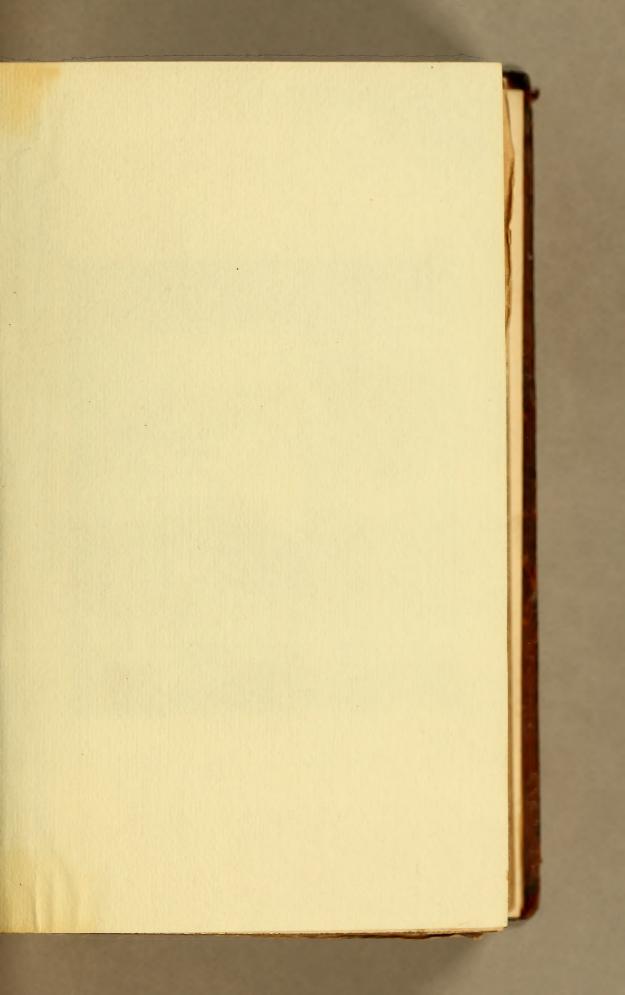
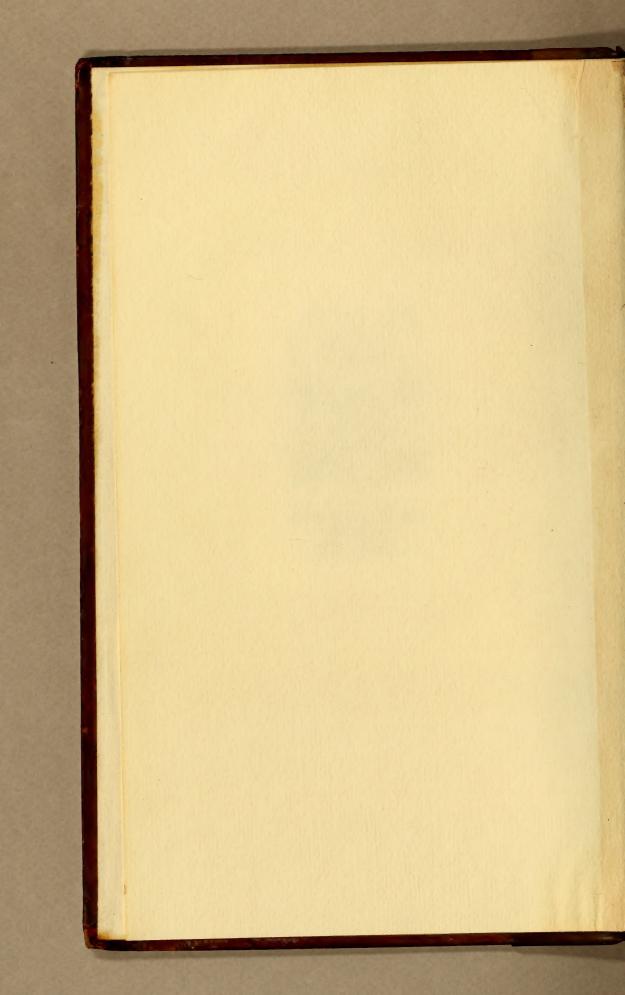




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BRYAN EDWARDS ESQ.R.

Rublish'd Sept. 25, 1800 by John Stockdale, Piccadilly.

THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

IN THE

WEST INDIES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. F.R.S. S.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOL. I.

LONDON

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1801.

SHIP

CIVIL AND COMMUNICATION

BRITISH COLO.

John Carter Brown Library

Printed by Luke Hanfard, Great Turnkile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields: TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

THIS

POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL

S U R V E Y

OF HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN THE

WEST INDIES:

WHICH,

UNDER HIS MILD AND AUSPICIOUS
GOVERNMENT,

ARE BECOME THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THE NATIONAL OPULENCE AND MARITIME POWER;

ıs,

WITH HIS GRACIOUS PERMISSION,
MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SUBJECT

AND SERVANT,

London, 3d June, 1793.

BRYAN EDWARDS.

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POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL

SURVER

OF HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN THE

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AND DESIGN

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WITH HIS GRACIOUS PERMISSION, MOST HUMBER 1980 PREMISSION,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S

THEST LOTERS ON LANGE TROM

AND SERVANT.

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BRYAN EDWARDS.

PREFATORY

ADVERTISEMENT*.

O this enlarged and corrected Edition of the History of the West Indies, it was the intention of the Author to prefix a Preface, touching every fource of additional intelligence, every rectification of error, and the general completion of his views, in furnishing every document of commerce, of policy, and of natural history, as connected with the countries and the people he describes. He had carefully revised and corrected the text of his Book, preparatory to fuch effay, developing the scheme of its construction, and the philosophy of its contents. But death interrupted the defign; -and ere the last sheet was revised from the press-Bryan EDWARDS was no more! He had long fuffered from the diforder which brought him to the grave, and feemed to forefee the hour of diffolution haftening on; as the Sketch of his Life, written by himfelf, clearly de-

A 3 notes.

* By Sir William Young, Bart,

notes. Rendered incapable, by weakness and disease, of completing his greater design of a Prefatory Difcourfe; yet, with a fond anxiety for honest fame, he roused the embers of his genius,-to claim a fair reputation with posterity for industry, integrity, and candid expofition of the talents and acquirements which introduced him to publick notice. The firmness of his mind, and the cheerfulness of his temper, which throughout a long and checquered life, gave confidence to his friendships, and delight in his fociety, for fook him not, as he apprehended its last short hour before him: this he clearly shews, when, turning from the awful confideration of futurity, to look back on his past life, himself brings the retrofpect to our view, and describes the scene in fo pure and lively colours, with no gloom from difcontent, and no shade from remorfe, that we readily infer the nature of the light which so beamed on this his last work, and to his last hour; -- and pronounce its emanation to be from the pure conscience of a benevolent and upright man. Under fuch impression, the Editor has peculiar satisfaction in fulfilling the injunction of his departed friend, and prefixing to this Edition "THE LIFE OF

THE AUTHOR, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF."-The time at which it was composed, and the composition itself, impress the Editor with every feeling of dear regard and of duty; and, (as a part of that duty) with the propriety of fubmitting some further remark on this last literary effort of his excellent Friend. Those who knew and were intimate with Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS, will recognize, in this short account of himself, the energy of mind, the industry, and the truth, which characterized his conversations and his life; but all must allow, and some must object, that much therein is omitted, which has usual and proper place in biography, and which the Editor might be prefumed, or be called upon, to fupply. Some account might be required, of his literary effays and legislative acts, fo efficient in the cause of humanity towards the negroes, whilst a member of the affembly in Jamaica: -Some account might be demanded, of this good and independent man, whilst a member of the British parliament; and, especially in the posthumous life of a literary man, some accurate detail of his literary purfuits and writings might be expected .- Of BRYAN EDWARDS, -of his Correspondence, -of his Esfays, and

of his conduct in the judicious compilation and elegant recital of the Travels of Mungoe Park,—and specially, of the origin and progress of the great Work herewith submitted to the Publick—to these, and other points, the recollection of the reader is thus awakened. The Editor presumes no further. He cannot venture to alter, or add to, the sacred deposit committed to his charge,—and now gives it to the Publick, as its Author left, and willed it, to be given.

[ix]

SKETCH

OF THE



LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

A SHORT TIME BEFORE HIS DEATH.

WAS born the 21st of May 1743, in the A decayed town of Westbury, in the county of Wilts. My father inherited a small paternal estate, in the neighbourhood, of about £.100 per annum; which proving but a feanty maintenance for a large family, he undertook, without any knowledge of the business, as I have been informed, to deal in corn and malt, but with very little fuccess. He died in 1756, leaving my excellent mother, and fix children, in distressed circumstances.-Luckily for my mother, she had two opulent brothers in the West Indies, one of them a wife and worthy man, of a liberal mind, and princely fortune. This was Zackary Bayly, of the Island of Jamaica, who, on the death of my father, took my mother and her family under his protection,

and as I was the eldest son, directed that I should be well educated. I had been placed by my father at the school of a diffenting minister in Bristol, whose name was William Foot, of whom I remember enough, to believe that he was both a learned and good man, but by a strange absurdity, he was forbidden to teach me Latin and Greek, and directed to confine my studies to writing, arithmetick, and the English grammar. I should therefore have had little to do, but that the schoolmaster had an excellent method of making the boys write letters to him on different subjects, such as, the beauty and dignity of truth, the obligation of a religious life, the benefits of good education, the mifchief of idleness, &c. &c. previously stating to them the chief arguments to be urged; and infifting on correctness in orthography and grammar. In this employment, I had fometimes the good fortune to excel the other boys; and when this happened, my master never failed to praise me very liberally before them all; and he would frequently transmit my letters to my father and mother.-This excited in my mind a spirit of emulation, and, I believe, gave me the first taste for correct correct and elegant composition. I acquired, however, all this time, but very little learning; and when my uncle (on my father's death) took me under his protection, his agent in Bristol considered me as neglected by Mr. Foot, and immediately removed me to a French boarding school in the same city, where I soon obtained the French language, and having access to a circulating library, I acquired a passion for books, which has since become the solace of my life.

In 1759, a younger and the only brother of my great and good uncle, came to England, and fettling in London, took me to refide with him, in a high and elegant style of life. He was a representative in Parliament for Abingdon, and afterwards for his native town.—Further, I cannot speak of him so favourably as I could wish; for I remember that at the period I allude to, his conduct towards me, was fuch, as not to infpire me with much respect: he perceived it; and soon after, in the latter end of the same year, sent me to Jamaica. -This proved a happy and fortunatechangein my life, for I found my eldest uncle the reverse, in every possible circumstance, of his brother. To the most enlarged and enlightened mind,

he added the sweetest temper, and the most generous disposition. His tenderness towards me was excessive, and I regarded him with more than filial affection and veneration. Observing my passion for books, and thinking favourably of my capacity, he engaged a clergyman (my loved and ever to be lamented friend Isaac Teale) to reside in his family, chiefly to supply by his instructions my deficiency in the learned languages. Mr. Teale had been master of a free grammar school, and besides being a most accomplished scholar, possessed an exquisite taste for poetry, which the reader will be convinced by referring to the Gentleman's Magazine, for August 1771, the beautiful copy of verses, there first published, called "The Compliment of the Day," being of his composition. I dare not fay, however, that I made any great progress in the languages under his tuition; I acquired " fmall Latin, and lefs "Greek;" even now, I find it difficult to read the Roman poets in their own language. The case was, that not having been grounded in the Latin grammar at an earlier period of life, I found the study of it insupportably difgusting, after that I had acquired a taste for thie

the beauties of fine writing. Poetry was our chief amusement; for my friend, as well as myself, preferred the charms of Dryden and Pope, to the dull drudgery of poring over fyntax and profody *. We preferred Belles Lettres.-We laughed away many a happy hour over the plays of Molière, and wrote verses on local and temporary fubjects, which we fometimes published in the Colonial newspapers. Yet the Latin classicks were not altogether neglected; my friend delighted to point out to me the beauties of Horace, and would frequently impose on me the task of translating an ode into English verse, which with his asfistance, in conftruing the words, I sometimes accomplished.

Having made myself known to the publick by my writings, it is probable that after I am in the grave, that some collector of anecdotes, or biographical compiler, may pretend to furnish some particulars concerning my life and manners. It is not pleasant to think that misrepresentation or malice may fasten on my memory; and I have therefore made it the amusement of an idle

* Vide Armstrong.

hour,

xiv

hour, to compile a short account of myself. My personal history, however, is of little importance to the world. It will furnish no diversified scenes of fortune, nor relate many circumstances of myself, worth remembering. Yet I feel the fond ambition of an Author, and am willing to hope, that those who have read my Book with approbation, will be glad to know something further concerning me:

For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey, &c.

For the fatisfaction then of fuch kind readers (if fuch there are) and the information of my posterity, I have drawn up this paper, which I desire my Bookseller to presix to the next Edition of my History of the West Indies.

B. E.

CONTENTS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK L

A GENERAL VIEW OF THEIR ANCIENT STATE
AND INHABITANTS.

CHAP. I.

GEOGRAPHICAL Arrangement.—Climate.—Sea-breeze, and Land-wind.—Beauty and fingularity of the vegetable and animal creation.—Magnificence and fublimity of the mountains: reflections concerning the origin of the West Indian Islands, &c.

Page 1.

CHAP. II.

Of the Charaibes, or ancient Inhabitants of the Windward Islands.

Origin.—Difficulties attending an accurate investigation of their character.—Sach particulars related as are least disputed concerning their manners and dispositions, persons and domestick habits, education of their children, arts, manufactures, and government, religious rites, funeral ceremonies, &c.—Some restessions drawn from the whole

CHAP. III.

Of the Natives of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico.—
Their Origin.—Numbers.—Persons.—Genius and Dispositions.—
Government and Religion.—Miscellaneous Observations respecting their Arts, Manusactures and Agriculture, Cruelty of the Spaniards, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Land animals used as food.—Fishes and wild fowl.—Indian method of fishing and sowling.—Esculent vegetables, &c.—Conclusion.

APPENDIX to Book I. containing some additional observations concerning the origion of the Charaibes. - 131

воок п.

JAMAICA.

CHAP. I.

Discovery of Jamaica by Columbus.—His return in 1503.—Spirited proceedings of his son Diego, after Columbus's Death.—Takes possible fisher of Jamaica in 1509.—Humane conduct of Juan de Esquivel, the sirst Governor.—Establishment and desertion of the town of Sevilla Nueva.—Destruction of the Indians.—St. Jago de la Vega founded.—Gives the title of Marquis to Diego's son Lewis, to whom the Island is granted in perpetual sover ignty—Descends to his sister Isabella, who conveys her rights by marriage to the House of Braganza.—Reverts to the crown of Spain, in 1640.—Sir Anthony Shirley invades the Island in 1596, and Col. Jackson in 1638.

CHAP. II.

Cromwell vindicated for attacking the Spaniards in 1655.—Their cruelties in the West Indies, in contravention of the treaty of 1630.

—Proposals offered by Modyfrod and Gage.—Forcible arguments of the latter.—Secretary Thurloe's account of a conference with the Spanish Ambassador.—Cromwell's demand of satisfaction rejected.—State of Jamaica on its capture.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the English in Jamaica after its capture.—Col. D'Oyley declared president.—Discontents and mortality among the army.—Vigorous exertions of the Protestor.—Col. Brayne appointed commander in chief.—His death.—D'Oyley reassumes the government.—Defeats the Spanish forces, which had invaded the island from Cuba.—His wise and steady administration.—Bucaniers.—Conciliating conduct of Charles II. on his restoration.—First establishment of a regular government in Jamaica.—Lord Windsor's appointment.—Royal proclamation.—American treaty in 1670.—Change of measures on the part of the crown.—New constitution devised for Jamaica.—Earl of Carlisle appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing the new system.—Successful opposition of the assembly.—Subsequent disputes respecting the confirmation of their laws.—Terminated by the revenue act of 1728.

CHAP. IV.

Situation.—Climate.—Face of the Country.—Mountains, and advantages derived from them.—Soil.—Lands in Culture.—Lands uncultivated, and observations thereon.—Woods and Timbers.—Rivers and Medicinal Springs.—Ores.—Vegetable Classes.—Grain.—Grasses.—Kitchen-garden produce, and fruits for the Table, &c. &c.

CHAP. V.

Topographical description. — Towns, villages, and parishes.—
Churches, church-livings, and vestries.—Governor or Commander in chief.—Courts of judicature.—Publick offices.—Legislature and laws.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins, and rate of exchange.—Militia.—Number of inhabitants of all conditions and complexions.—Trade, shipping, exports and imports.—Report of the Lords of Trade in 1734.—Present state of the trade with Spanish America.—Origin and policy of the act for establishing free ports.—Display of the progress of the island in cultivation, by comparative statements of its inhabitants and products at different periods. 260

Vol. I. a BOOK III,

воок Ш.

ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

CHAP I.

Barbadoes.—First Arrival of the English at this Island.—Origin, progress, and termination of the Proprietary Government.—Rewenue granted to the Crown of $4^{\frac{1}{2}}$ per centum on all Produce exported—how obtained.—Origin of the Act of Navigation.—Situation and Extent of the Island.—Soil and Produce.—Population.—Decline and Causes thereof.—Exports and Imports.

CHAP. 11.

Grenada and its Dependencies.—First discovery, name and inhabitants.-French invasion and establishment in 1650.-War with, and extermination of the natives .- The island and its dependencies conveyed to the Count de Cerillac .- Misconduct and punishment of the deputy governor .- The colony reverts to the crown of France .-State of the island in 1700 .- And again in 1762, when captured by the English. - Stipulations in favour of the French inhabitants. -First Measures of the British government. - Claim of the crown to levy a duty of 4 1/2 per cent. on produce exported. - Arguments for and objections against the measure .- Decision of the court of King's Bench on this important question .- Strictures on some positions advanced by the lord-chief-justice on this occasion.—Transactions within the colony .- Royal instructions in favour of the Roman Catholick capitulants.—Internal dissentions.—Defenceles state.—French invasion in 1779 .- Brave defence of the garrison .- Unconditional furrender .- Hardships exercised towards the English planters and their creditors .- Redress given by the court of France .- Grenada, Sc. restored to Great Britain by the peace of 1783 .- Present state of the colony in respect to cultivation, productions and exports; 352 government and population. Postscript to the History of Grenada. 393 APPENDIX to Chap. II. 597

CHAP. III.

Saint Vincent and its Dependencies, and Dominica.	-	407
APPENDIX to Chap. III	-	- 448
	CHA	P. IV.

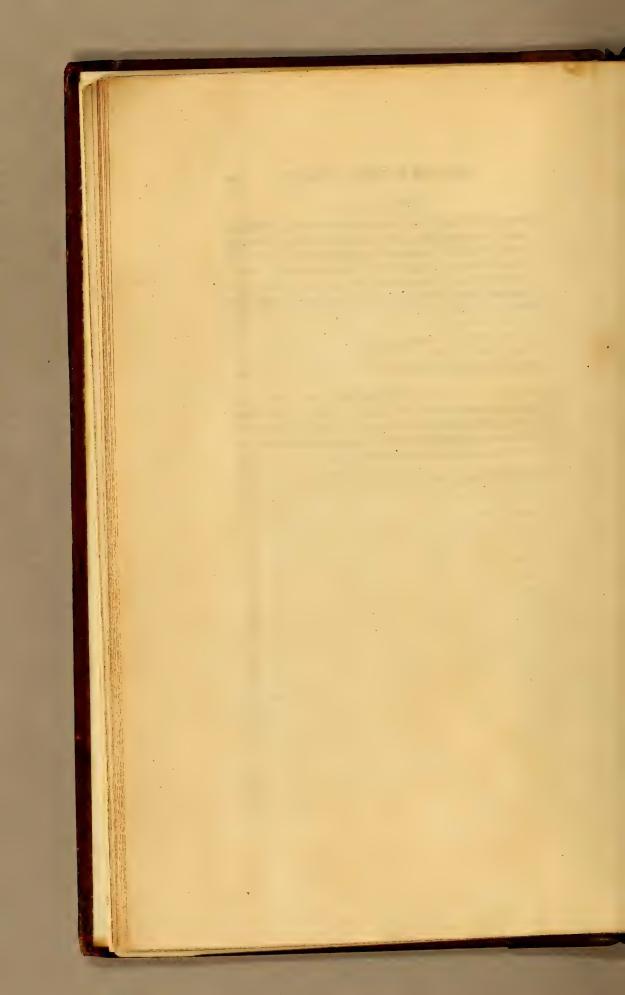
CHAP. IV.

APPENDIX to Vol. I. No. 1.

518

Proceedings of the Assembly relative to the Maroons.

572



LIST OF PLATES.

VOL. I.

1. Portrait of the Author, to face t	he 7	l'itle.
2. Columbus and his two Sons,—to face the Preface to	T ft	Ed:
tion. For description, see	, 111	Edi-
3. A print of the Bread Fruit of Otaheite,—to face p.	p	XXIII.
J. 1-Pint of the Bread Finit of Otalierte,—10 12ce p.		
A general Man of the III. O I 1' C	Pre	eface.
4. A general Map of the West Indies, to face Chap. I	. Во	ok I.
A 7 11 O 1		p. 1.
5. An Indian Cacique addressing Columbus, - to face	pag	e 93
6. A Map of the Island of Jamaica, to face Chap.	. I.	
of Book II.	_	151
7. A Map of the Island of Barbadoes, - to face Ch	ab.	
I. of Book I		316
8. A Map of the Island of Grenada, to face		-
9. A Family of the Red Charaibes in the Island of	24	352
Vincent .		
to fa	ice	407
A Man of the Ideal of D.	-	410
11. A Map of the Island of Dominica	-	43 I
12. A Map of the Islands of St. Christopher's and Ne	71S	453
3. A Map of the Island of Antigua	-	484
14. A Map of the Virgin Islands -	-	498
15. Pacification with the Maroons, by General Trela	W-	
ney	-	529
16. View of Trelawney Town, shewing the Maro	on	
mode of fighting -		553
		555

VOL. II.

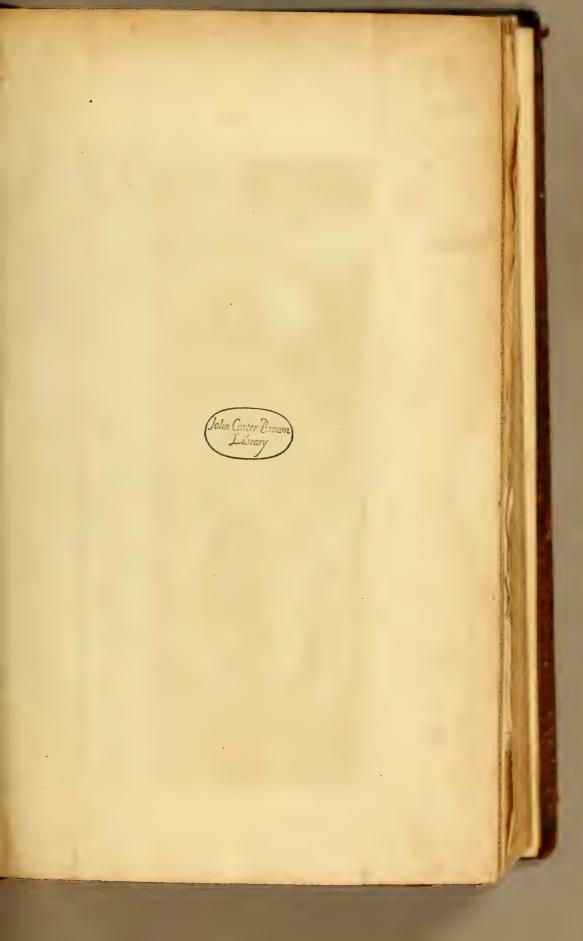
LIST OF PLATES.

voi. II.

1.	. The Voyage of the Sable Venus, from Ange	ola to	
	the West Indies - to face	pag e	32
2.	. A Negro Festival, to be placed at the	nd of	
	Book IV.	-	184
3.	Plan and Elevation of an improved Sugar Mill	l, de-	
	figned by Edward Woollery, Efq. of Jamaica	-	262

VOL. III.

ı.	Map of the Island of St. Domingo	-	to face	page	129
	Chatoyer and his five Wives	-	•		262
	Map of the Island of Tobago	=	•	9	274





William fouth!"

From an ancient Annish Tomes in the popularion of Edward Morne (sag.
of Bours Mount mear Southampoon.

COLUMBUS and his Sons Diego and Ferdi-NAND. From an ancient Spanish Picture in the Possession of Edward Horne, Esq. of Bevis Mount, near Southampton.

THE Picture from which this Engraving is made, bears the marks of great antiquity, and from the words Mar del Sud on the chart represented in it, is known to be Spanish. The principal figure is certainly Columbus, and the two young men are believed to be his fons, DIEGO and FERDINAND, to whom Co-LUMBUS seems to point out the course of the voyages he had made. The globe, the charts, and aftronomical infiruments, support this conjecture, and the figure of Hope, in the back ground, alludes probably to the great expectations which were formed throughout all Europe, of still greater discoveries. From the mention of a Southern Ocean, imperfectly and dubiously reprefented, (as an object at that time rather of fearch than of certainty) there is reason to believe that the picture was painted immediately on Columbus's return from his fourth voyage, in 1504, because it is related by Lopez de Gomera, a cotemporary historian*, that the admiral, when at Porto Bello, in 1502, had received information that there was a great ocean on the other fide of the continent extending fouthwards; and it is well known, that all his labours afterwards, in the fourth voyage, were directed to find out an entrance into the Southern Ocean from the Atlantick; for which purpose he explored more than 300 leagues of coast, from Cape Gracios a Dios to the Gulph of Darien; but the actual discovery of the South Sea was reserved for Vasco Nunez de Balboa. The age of COLUMBUS'S Sons, at the time of his return from his fourth voyage, corresponds with their appearance in the picture. The youngest of them, some years afterwards, compiled a short history of his Father's life; in the third chapter of which I find the following very curious description of Colum-Bus's person and manners, with which the picture, as far as it goes, is found also to correspond:

" Fue

^{*} F. L. de Gomara Historia de las Indias, cap. 60.

" Fue el almirante hombre de bien formada, i mas que mediana estatura; la cara larga, las megillas un poco altas, sin declinar à gordo d macilento; la nariz aquilina, los ojos blancos i de blanco de color encendido; en fu mocedad tuvo el cabello blondo; pero de treinta anos ia le tenia blanco; en el comer, i beber, i en el adorno de su persona er a mui modesto i continente; afable en la conversation con los estranos i con los de casa mui agradable, con modestia i gravidad : fue tan observante de las cosas de la religion, que en los ayunos, i en reçar el oficio divino, pudiera ser tenido por professo en religion; tan enemigo de juramento, i blasfemia, que yo juro, que jamas le vi echar otro juramento que por fan Fernando; y quando se hallaba mas irritado con alguno, era su reprehension decir le: os doi à dios porque hic isteis esto ò dijisteis aqueillo: fi alguna vez tenia que escrivir, no probaba la pluma, sin escrivir estas palabras Jesus cum Maria sit nobis in via; y contan buena letra que bastara para ganar de comer."

La Hist, del Almirante Don Christ, Colon. C. 3.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

TOPHER COLUMBUS, and the progress of the Spaniards in the conquest of it, have been defervedly the theme of a long series of histories in the several languages of Europe; and the subject has been recently resumed and illustrated by a celebrated Writer among ourselves.—It is not therefore my intention to tread again in so beaten a track, by the recital of occurrences of which sew can be ignorant, if the noblest exertions of the human mind, producing events the most singular and important in the history of the world, are circumstances deserving admiration and enquiry.

My attempt, which I feel to be sufficiently arduous, is,

To present the Reader with an historical account of the origin and progress of the settlements made by our own nation in the West Indian islands;—

To explain their constitutional establishments, internal governments, and the political system maintained by Great Britain towards them;

Vol. I. o b

To describe the manners and dispositions of the present inhabitants, as influenced by climate, situation, and other local causes; comprehending in this part of my book an account of the African slave-trade; some observations on the negro character and genius, and reslections on the system of slavery established in our colonies;—

To furnish a more comprehensive account than has hitherto appeared of the agriculture of the Sugar Islands in general, and of their rich and valuable staple commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, and

cotton, in particular ;-finally,

To display the various and widely extended branches of their commerce; pointing out the relations of each towards the other, and towards the feveral great interests, the manufactures, navigation, revenues, and lands of Great Britain:—

These, together with feveral collateral disquisitions, are the topicks on which I have endeavoured to collect, and convey to the publick, useful and acceptable information. Their importance will not be disputed, and I have only to lament that my abilities are not more equal to the task I have undertaken.

But, before I proceed to investigations merely political and commercial, I have ventured on a retrospective survey of the state and condition of the West Indian islands when first discovered by Columbus; and I have endeavoured to delineate the most prominent seatures in the character and genius of their ancient inhabitants. I was led to a research of this nature, not merely for the purpose

of giving uniformity to my work, but because, having refided many years in the countries of which I write, I prefume to think that I am fomewhat better qualified to judge of the influence of climate and fituation, on the disposition, temper, and intellects of their inhabitants, than many of those writers, who, without the fame advantage, have undertaken to compile fystems, and establish conclusions, on this subject. I conceive that, unless an author has had the benefit of actual experience and personal observation, neither genius nor industry can at all times enable him to guard against the mistakes and misrepresentations of prejudiced, ignorant, or interested men; to whose authority he fubmits, merely from the want of advantages which those who have possessed them have perverted. He is liable even to be misled by preceding authors, who have undertaken, on no better foundation than himself, to compile histories and form systems on the same subject: for when plausible theories are deduced, with ingenuity and eloquence, from facts confidently afferted; he suspects not, or, if he fuspects, is cautious of afferting, that the foundation itself (as it frequently happens) is without support; that no fuch facts actually exist, or, if existing, are accidental and local peculiarities only,-not premifes of fufficient extent and importance whereon to ground general conclusions and systematical combination.

I HAVE been induced to make this remark from perusing the speculations of Mons. Buffon and some other French theorists, on the condition and b 2 character

character of the American nations. Whether from a defire to leffen the strong abhorrence of all mankind at the cruelties exercifed by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, or from a ftrange affectation of paradox and fingularity, falfely claiming the honours of philosophy, those writers have ventured to affert, that the air and climate, or other phyfical phenomena, retard the growth of animated nature in the New Hemisphere, and prevent the natives from attaining to that perfection at which mankind arrive in the other quarters of the globe. Notwithstanding the variety of foil, climate, and feafons, which prevail in the feveral great provinces of North and South America; -notwithstanding that the aboriginal inhabitants were divided into a great many different tribes, and diffinguished also by many different languages; it is pretended that all those various tribes were uniformly inferior, in the faculties of the mind and the capacity of improvement, to the rest of the human species; that they were creatures of no confideration in the book of Nature; denied the refined invigorating fentiment of love,and not possessing even any very powerful degree of animal defire towards multiplying their species. The author of a system entitled ' Recherches Philofophiques sur les Americains' declares, with unexampled arrogance, that there never has been found, throughout the whole extent of the New World, a fingle individual of superior sagacity to the rest. And the scope of his treatise is to demonstrate, that the poor savages were actuated, not by reason, but by a fort of animal instinct; that Nature, having bestowed bestowed on the whole species a certain small degree of intellect, to which they all individually attain, placed an insurmountable barrier against their further progress:— of course, that they are not (properly speaking) men, but beings of a secondary and subordinate rank in the scale of creation.

ALTHOUGH our own learned Historian (a) is much too enlightened to adopt, in their fullest extent, these opinions; -which cannot, indeed, be read without indignation;—yet it is impossible to deny, that they have had fome degree of influence in the general estimate which he has framed of the American character: for he ascribes to all the natives of the New World many of those imperfections on which the system in question is founded; and repeatedly afferts, that "the qualities belonging to the people of all the different tribes may be painted with the same features (b)." With this bias on his pen, it is not wonderful that this author is fometimes chargeable with repugnancy and contradiction. Thus we are told that "the Americans are, in an amazing degree, strangers to the first instinct of nature (a passion for the sex). and, in every part of the New World, treat their women with coldness and indifference (c)." Yet we find foon afterwards, that, " in some countries of the New World, the women are valued and admired, the animal passion of the sexes becomes ardent, and the diffolution of their manners is ex-

b 3 ceffive."

⁽a) Dr. Robertson. (c) P. 292. (b) History of America, Vol. I. p. 280 and 283.

ceffive (d)." It is elsewhere observed, that "the Americans were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it, and funk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease; and it is added, that "this feebleness of constitution was universal, and may be considered as characteristick of the species (e)." It appears, however, in a fubsequent page, that "wherever the Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labour, their constitutions become robust enough to equal any effort of the natives either of Africa or Europe (f)." Personal debility, therefore, could not have been the peculiar characteristick of the American species; for the human frame, in every part of the globe, acquires strength by gradual employment, and is comparatively feeble without it.

AGAIN: Among the qualities which the Historian considers as universally predominant in the Americans, he ascribes to them, in a remarkable degree, a hardness of heart and a brutal insensibility to the sufferings of their sellow-creatures (g). "So little (he observes) is the breast of a savage sufferentiable of those sentiments which prompt men to that seeling attention which mitigates distress, in some provinces of America the Spaniards have found it necessary to ensorce the common duties of humanity by positive laws (h)." Neither is this account of their inflexibility confined to the sero-

cious

⁽d) History of America, Vol. I. p. 296.
(f) P. 294.
(g) P. 405.
(h) P. 406.

cious barbarian of the northern provinces, or to the miserable outcast of Terra del Fuego. The author extends his description to all the uncivilized inhabitants of the New Hemisphere. It constitutes a striking feature in his general estimate; for he establishes it as a fixed principle, that "in every part of the deportment of man in his savage state, whether towards his equals of the human species, or towards the animals below him, we recognize the same character, and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, and regulated by its own caprice, without much attention or sensibility to the sentiments and feelings of the beings around him (i)."

CERTAINLY the learned Author, while employed in this representation, had wholly forgotten the account which he had before given of the first interview between the Spaniards and the natives of Hispaniola, when a ship of Columbus was wrecked on that island. " As soon (says the Historian) as they heard of the difaster, they crouded to the shore, with their prince Guacanahari at their head. Inflead of taking advantage of the diffress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of sincere condolence. Not satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy, they put to sea a vast number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, affifted in faving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the

(i) History of America, Vol. I. p. 407.

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united

united labour of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. Guacanahari in perfon took charge of the goods, and prevented the multitude not only from embezzling, but even from inspecting too curiously what belonged to their guests. Next morning this prince visited Columbus, and endeavoured to console him for his loss by offering all that he possessed to repair it."

Thus exceptions present themselves to every general conclusion, until we are burthened with their variety:—And at last we end just where we began; for the wonderful uniformity which is said to have distinguished the American Indians, cannot be supported by analogy, because it is not sounded on nature.

OF the other branches of my work, great part, I prefume to think, will be new to many of my readers. I have not met with any book that even pretends to furnish a comprehensive and satisfactory account of the origin and progress of our national fettlements in the tropical parts of America. The fystem of agriculture practised in the West Indies, is almost as much unknown to the people of Great Britain as that of Japan. They know, indeed, that fugar, and indigo, and coffee, and cotton, are raifed and produced there; but they are very generally, and to a furprifing degree, uninformed concerning the method by which those and other valuable commodities are cultivated and brought to perfection. So remarkable indeed is the want of information in this respect, even among persons of the most extensive general knowledge, that in a law

law question which came by appeal from one of the Sugar Islands a few years ago, the noble and learned earl who presided at the hearing, thinking it necessary to give some account of the nature of rum and melasses (much being stated in the pleadings concerning the value of those commodities) affured his auditors with great solemnity, that "melasses was the raw and unconcocted juice extracted from the cane, and from which sugar was afterwards made by boiling!" (k)

On the subject of the flave-trade, and its concomitant circumstances, so much has been said of late by others, that it may be supposed there remains but little to be added by me. It is certain, however, that my account, both of the trade and the fituation of the enflaved negroes in the British colonies, differs very effentially from the representations that have been given, not only in a great variety of pamphlets and other publications, but also by many of the witnesses that were examined before the house of commons. The publick must judge between us, and I should be in no pain about the refult, if the characters of some of those persons who have stood forth on this occasion as accusers of the refident planters, were as well known in Great Britain, as they are in the West Indies. What I have written on these subjects has at least this advantage, that great part of my observations are founded on personal knowledge and actual ex-

perience:

⁽k) I give this anecdote on the authority of a Jamaica gentleman who was prefert; a person of undoubted veracity.

perience: and with regard to the manners and difpositions of the native Africans, as distinguished by national habits, and characteristick features, I venture to think, that my remarks will be found both

new and interesting.

AFTER all, my first object has been truth, not novelty. I have endeavoured to collect useful knowledge wherefoever it lay, and when I found books that supplied what I fought, I have sometimes been content to adopt, without alteration, what was thus furnished to my hands. extracts and passages from former writers occupy fome of my pages; and not having always been careful to note the authorities to which I reforted, I find it now too late to afcertain the full extent of my obligations of this kind. They may be traced most frequently, I believe, in the first and alast parts of my works. In the first, because, when I began my task, I had less confidence in my own refources than I found afterwards, when practice had rendered writing familiar to me; and in the last, because, when my labours grew near to a conclusion, I became weary, and was glad to get affistance wherefoever it offered.

From living rather than from written information, however, have I generally fought affiftance, when my own resources have proved deficient; and it is my good fortune to boast an acquaintance with men, to whom, for local and commercial knowledge, our statesmen and senators might refort, with credit to themselves and advantage to the publick. On this occasion, neither the grati-

tude which I owe for favours bestowed, nor the pride which I feel from the honour of his friendship, will allow me to conceal the name of Edward Long, Esquire, the author of the Jamaica History, to whom I am first and principally indebted; and who, with the liberality which always accompanies true genius, has been as careful to correct my errors, and assiduous to supply my desects, as if his own well-earned reputation had depended on the issue.

For great part of the materials which compose the History of Grenada, I am under obligations to Thomas Campbell, Efquire, formerly speaker of the affembly of that island, who, through means of a friend, furnished such answers to queries that I fent him, as encourage me to present that portion of my work to the publick with a confidence which I dare not affume in my account of some other of the islands. Yet, even with regard to most of these, I have no cause to complain that affistance has been oftentimes denied me. Concerning Barbadoes and Saint Christopher's in particular, I have been favoured with much accurate and acceptable information, by John Braithwaite and Alexander Douglas, Esquires, gentlemen who are intimately acquainted with the concerns of those colonies; and the polite and cheerful readiness with which they fatisfied my enquiries, entitle them to this publick testimony of my thanks.

THE same tribute is most justly due to Benjamin Vaughan and George Hibbert, Esquires, merchants of London, for many excellent and important re-

marks,

marks, and much valuable matter; which, at length, have enabled me to look back on the commercial disquisitions in the last book, with a degree of fatisfaction that at one period I despaired of obtaining; being well apprized that this part of my work will, on many accounts, be most obnoxious to criticism. That it is now rendered free from mistakes, I do not indeed pretend. all refearches of a political and commercial nature, the best authorities are sometimes fallible; and there is frequently much difference both in general opinion and particular computation between those who are equally folicitous for the discovery of truth. The facts, however, that I have collected cannot fail to be of use, whether the conclusions I have drawn from them be well founded or not.

I MIGHT here close this introductory discourse, and leave my book to the candour of my readers; but having made my acknowledgments to those gentlemen who have given me their kind affiftance in the compilation of it; and feeling, in common with all the inhabitants of the British West Indies, a just sense of indignation at the malignant and unmerited aspersions which are daily and hourly thrown upon the planters, for supposed improper and inhuman treatment of their African labourers; I should ill acquit myself, as the historian of those colonies, if I omitted this opportunity of giving my testimony to the fulness of their gratitude, their honest pride and lively sensibility, at beholding, in a Son of their beloved Sovereign, the generous affertor of their rights, and the strenuous and able

able defender of their injured characters, and infuited honour! The condescending and unsolicited interpolition of the Duke of Clarence on this occasion, is the more valuable, as, happily for the planters, it is founded on his Royal Highness's perfonal observation of their manners, and knowledge of their dispositions, acquired on the spot. Thus patronized and protected, while they treat with filent fcorn and deserved contempt the base efforts of those persons who, without the least knowledge of the subject, affail them with obloquy and outrage, they find a dignified fupport, in the conscioulness of their own innocence, even under the misguided zeal and unfavourable prepoffessions of better men. It might indeed be hoped, for the interests of truth and humanity, that fuch men would now frankly acknowledge their error, and ingenuoufly own, that we have been most cruelly traduced, and ignominiously treated; or if this be too much to ask, we may at least expect that gentlemen of education and candour will no longer perfift in affording countenance to the vulgar prejudices of the envious and illiberal, by giving currency to fuggestions which they cannot possibly know to be true, and which we know to be false.

London, 1793:

PREFACE

TO THE

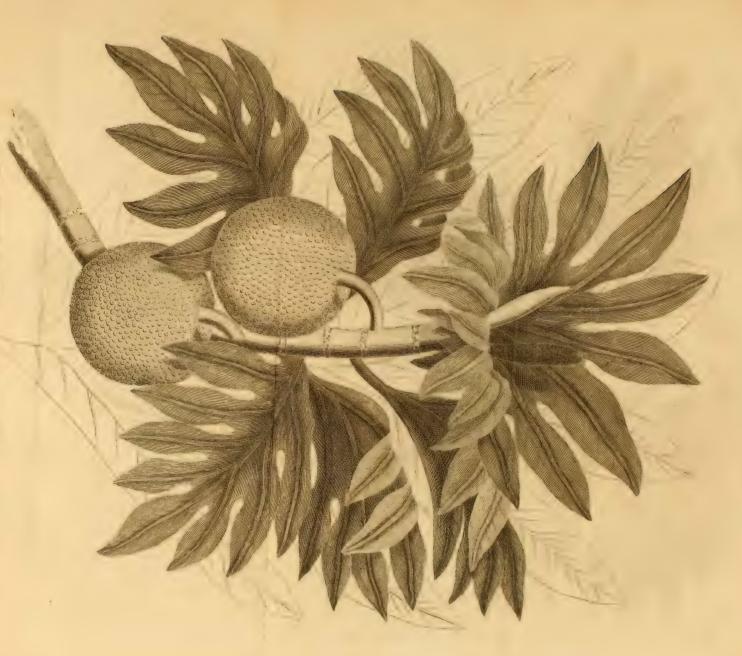
SECOND EDITION.

HE sale of a large impression of this Work, in little more than twelve months, having induced the Bookseller to publish a second edition, I have availed myself of the opportunity of correcting several errors which have crept into the first; but I have not found it necessary to enlarge my Book with any new matter of my own, worthy of mention. The only additions of importance are a few notes and illustrations, with which the kindness of friends has enabled me to supply some of my deficiences. I have thought it proper, however, in that part of the Sixth Book which treats of the commercial fystem, to insert a copy of the provifional bill prefented to the House of Commons in March 1782, by the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the purpose of reviving the beneficial intercourse that existed before the late American war, between the United States and the British Sugar Islands. This bill, through the influence of popular prejudice and other causes, was unfortunately lost. Had it passed into a law, it would probably have faved from the horrors of famine fifteen thousand unoffending Negroes, Negroes, who miserably perished (in Jamaica alone) from the sad effects of the satal restrictive system which prevailed! The publication of this bill, therefore, is discharging a debt of justice to the Minister and myself: to Mr. Pitt, because it proves that his first ideas on this question were founded on principles of sound policy and humanity; to myself, because it gives me an opportunity of shewing that the sentiments which I have expressed on the same subject are justified by his high authority.

This is not a business of selfishness or faction; nor (like many of those questions which are daily moved in Parliament merely to agitate and perplex government) can it be dimiffed by a vote. It will come forward again and again, and haunt administration in a thousand hideous shapes, until a more liberal policy shall take place; for no folly can posfibly exceed the notion that any measures pursued by Great Britain will prevent the American States from having, some time or other, a commercial intercourse with our West Indian territories on their own terms. With a chain of coast of twenty degrees of latitude, possessing the finest harbours for the purpose in the world, all lying so near to the Sugar Colonies, and the track to Europe,—with a country abounding in every thing the Islands have occasion for, and which they can obtain no where else; -all these circumstances, necessarily and naturally lead to a commercial intercourse between our Islands and the United States. It is true, we

may ruin our Sugar Colonies, and ourselves also, in the attempt to prevent it; but it is an experiment which God and Nature have marked out as impossible to succeed. The present restraining system is forbidding men to help each other: men who, by their necessities, their climate and productions, are standing in perpetual need of mutual assistance, and

able to supply it. I WRITE with the freedom of History; -- for it is the cause of humanity that I plead.—At the same time there is not a man living who is more defirous than myself of testifying, by every possible means, the fensibility and affection which are due to our gracious Sovereign, for that paternal folicitude and munificent interpolition, in favour of his remotest fubjects, to which it is owing that the Bread Fruit, and other valuable productions of the most distant regions, now flourish in the British West Indies. These are indeed "imperial works, and worthy After several unsuccessful attempts, " kings." the introduction of the Bread Fruit was happily accomplished, in January 1793, by the arrival at St. Vincent of his Majesty's ship Providence, Captain WILLIAM BLIGH, and the Affistant brig, Captain NATHANIEL PORTLOCK, from the South Seas; having on board many hundreds of those trees, and a vast number of other choice and curious plants, in a very flourishing condition; all which have been properly distributed through the islands of St. Vincent and Jamaica, and already afford the pleafing prospect that his Majesty's goodness



The BREAD FRUIT

OF OTAILEITE.

Birdill

Sanam auto!



ness will be felt to the most distant period *. The cultivation of these valuable exoticks will, without doubt, in a course of years, lessen the dependence of the Sugar Islands on North America for food and necessaries; and not only supply subsistence for suture generations, but probably surnish fresh incitements to industry, new improvements in the arts, and new subjects of commerce!

THE Assembly of Jamaica, co-operating with the benevolent intentions of his Majesty, have lately purchased the magnificent botanical garden of Mr. East +, and placed it on the publick establishment, under the care of skilful gardeners, one of whom circumnavigated the globe with Captain Bligh. I might therefore have considerably enlarged the Hortus Eastensis annexed to the Third Volume of this Work, but the particulars did not come to my hands

* Extract of a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, from the Botanick gardener in Jamaica; dated December 1793.

"All the trees under my charge are thriving with the greatest luxuriance. Some of the Bread Fruit are upwards of eleven feet high, with leaves thirty-fix inches long; and my success in cultivating them has exceeded my most fanguine expectations. The Cinnamon Tree is become very common, and Mangoes are in such plenty as to be planted in the negro-grounds. There are also several bearing trees of the Jaack or bastard bread-fruit, which is exactly the same as the Nanka of Timor. We have one Nutmeg Plant, which is rather fickly, &c. &c."

† On the death of HINTON EAST, Efq. the founder of the botanick garden, it became the property of his nephew, EDWARD HYDE EAST, Efq. barrifter at law, and member of parliament for Great Bedwin, who with great generofity offered it to the Affembly of Jamaica, for the use of the publick, at their own price.

VOL. I.

However, that the lovers of natural hifin time. tory may not be wholly disappointed, I shall subjoin to this Preface a Catalogue of the more rare and valuable exoticks which now flourish in Jamaica. The prefent improved flate of botany in that island will thus be feen at one view.

In contemplating this display of industry and fcience, and offering the tribute of grateful veneration to that Sovereign under whose royal patronage and bounty fo many valuable productions have been conveyed in a growing state from one extremity of the world to the other, it is impossible that the inhabitants of the British West Indies can forget how much also is due to Sir Joseph Banks, the Prefident of the Royal Society; by whose warm and unwearied exertions the fecond voyage to the South Seas was determined on, after the first had proved abortive. Among all the labours of life, if there is one pursuit more replete than any other with benevolence, more likely to add comforts to existing people, and even to augment their numbers by augmenting their means of fubfiftence, it is certainly that of spreading abroad the bounties of creation, by transplanting from one part of the globe to another fuch natural productions as are likely to prove beneficial to the interests of humanity. In this generous effort, Sir Joseph Banks has employed a confiderable part of his time, attention, and fortune; and the fuccess which in many cases, has crowned his endeavours, will be felt in the enjoyments, and rewarded by the bleffings, of posterity.

On the whole, the introduction of the Bread Fruit and other plants from the South Sea Islandsthe munificence displayed by His Majesty in causing the voyage to be undertaken by which it was finally accomplished—the liberality and judgment of those who advised it—and the care and attention manifested by those who were more immediately entrusted with the conduct of it, are circumstances that claim a distinguished place, and constitute an important era, in the History of the British West Indies!

HAVING faid thus much in honour of my countrymen, it is but justice to observe, that the French nation (whilft a government existed among them) began to manifest a noble spirit of emulation in the fame liberal pursuit. It is to the industry of the French that Jamaica (as will be feen in the Hiftory of that Island) owes the Cinnamon, the Mango, and fome other delicious Spices and Fruits. Among other branches of the vegetable kingdom, introduced by them into their West Indian possessions, they reckoned three different species of the Sugar Cane, all of which were previously unknown to the planters and inhabitants. I have, in the Second volume of this edition, observed, that Sir Joseph Banks had fatisfied me that fuch varieties did exist; but I was not then apprized that their cultivation had been fuccessfully attempted in any of our own islands. By the kindness of Admiral Sir John LAFOREY, Baronet, I am now enabled to gratify my readers with fuch full and authentick information on this fubject, as cannot fail to be highly acceptable to every inhabitant of the West Indies.

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THESE

THESE Canes were originally introduced into Martinico; and it was a fortunate circumstance that the distinguished officer whom I have named commanded about that time on the naval station at Antigua. It was equally fortunate that, with a love of natural knowledge, he possessed plantations in the Island last-mentioned; for it is extremely probable, from the disturbances and distractions which have prevailed ever since in every one of the French Colonies, that there would not at this time have been found a trace of these plants in any part of the West Indies, if Sir John Laforey had not personally attended to their prefervation. With the account which his politeness has enabled me to present to the Publick, I shall conclude this Introductory Discourse.

Remarks on the East India and other CANES imported into the French Charaibean Islands, and lately introduced into the Island of Antigua, by Sir John Laforey, Bart.

- "One fort was brought from the Island of Bourbon, reported by the French to be the growth of the coast of Malabar.
 - " ANOTHER fort from the island of Otaheite.
 - " ANOTHER fort from Batavia.
- "The two former are much alike, both in their appearance and growth, but that of Otaheite is faid to make the finest fugar. They are much larger than those of our Islands, the joints of some measuring eight or nine inches long, and six in circumference.

ec THEIR

"THEIR colour, and that of their leaves also, differs from ours, being of a pale green; their leaves broader, their points falling towards the ground as they grow out, instead of being erect like those of our Islands. Their juice also, when expressed, differs from that of our Canes; being of a very pale, instead of a deep green colour. I caused one of the largest of these Canes to be cut, at what I deemed its full growth, and likewise one of the largest of the Island Canes that could be found upon each of three other plantations. When they were properly trimmed for grinding, I had them weighed: the Malabar Canes weighed upwards of seven pounds; neither of the other three exceeded four pounds and a quarter.

"THEY are ripe enough to grind at the age of ten months; a few cut for a trial by my manager, above twelve months old, were judged to have loft

part of their juices, by flanding too long.

"They appear to stand the dry weather better than ours; I observed, that after a drought of a long continuance, when the leaves of our own Canes began to turn brown at their points, these continued their colour throughout.

"A GENTLEMAN of Montserrat had some plants given to him by Monsseur Pinnel, one of the most considerable planters of Guadaloupe, who told him he had, in the preceding year (1792) in which an exceeding great drought had prevailed, planted amongst a large field of the Island Canes half an acre of these; that the want of rain, and the borer, had damaged the former so much, that he could not make sugar from them, but the latter had produced him three hogsheads.

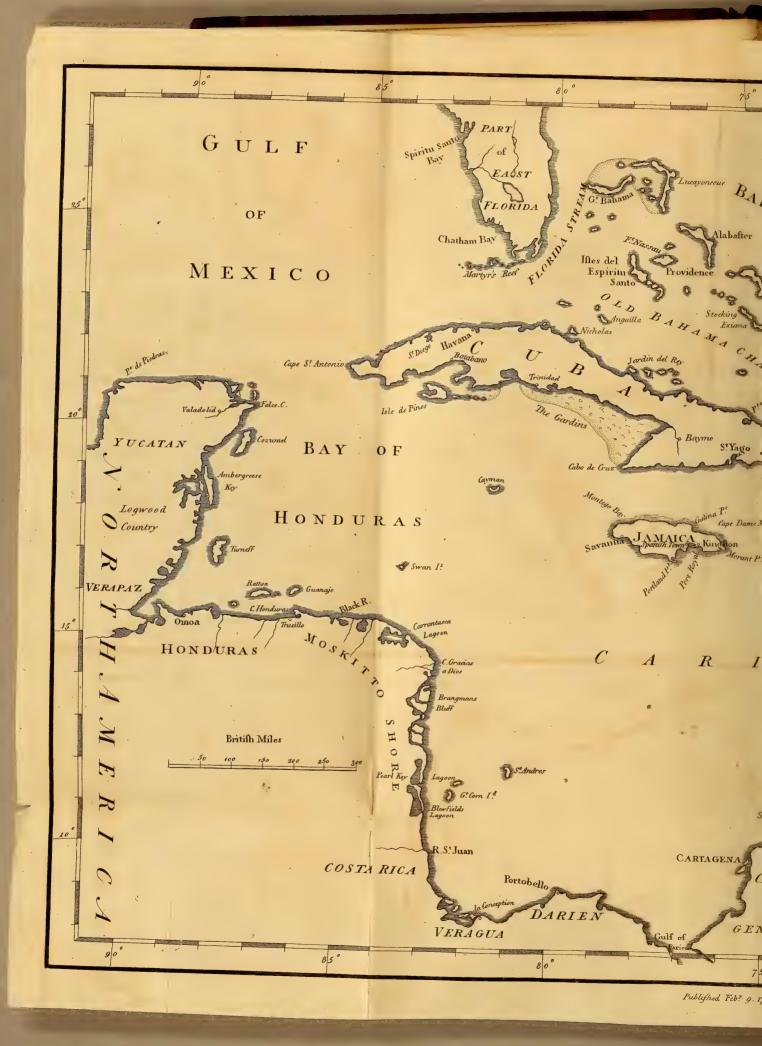
"In the spring of this year (1794) a trial was made of the Malabar Canes, on one of my plantations; 160 bunches from holes of five feet square were cut, they produced upwards of 350 lbs. of very good sugar; the juice came into sugar in the teache, in much less time than is usually required for that of the other Canes, and threw up very little scum. The produce was in the proportion of 3,500 lbs. to an acre; the weather had then been so very dry, and the borer so destructive, that I am sure no one part of that plantation would have yielded above half that quantity from the other Canes, in the same space of ground. We had not then the benefit of the new-invented clarifiers, which, though imported, had not been fixed up for want of time.

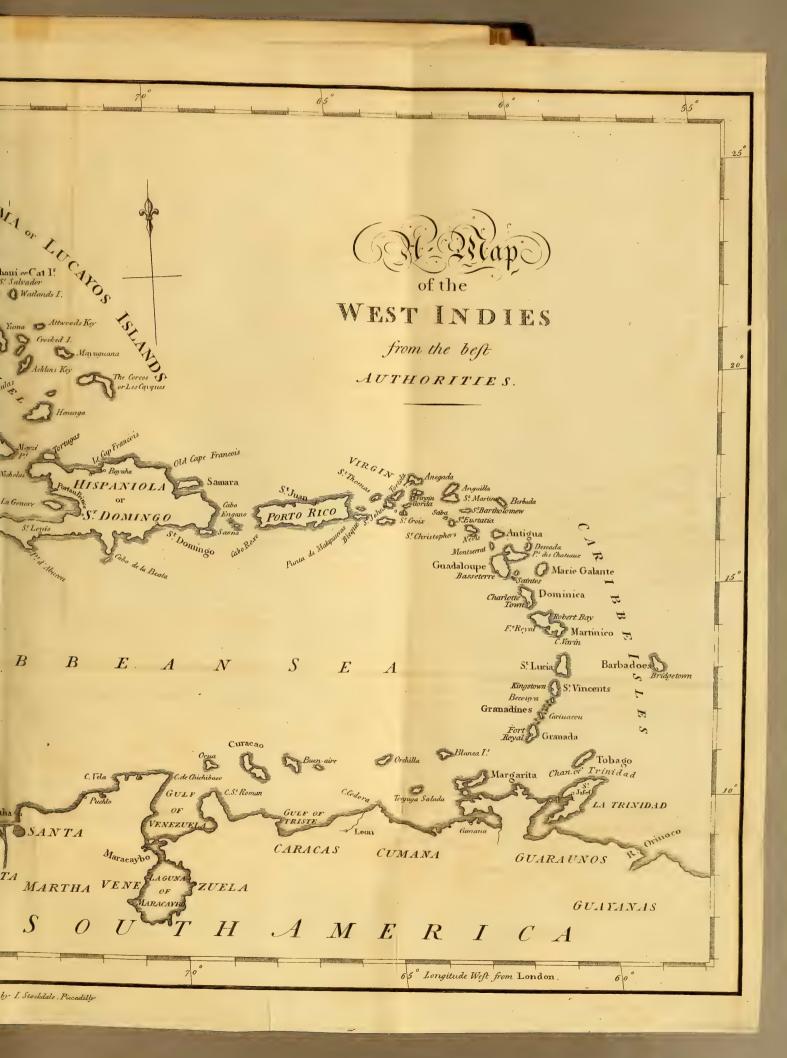
"The French complain that these Canes do not yield a sufficient quantity of field trash, to boil the juice into sugar; to this, and to their never throwing up an arrow, I think their superior size may in good measure be attributed. This inconvenience may be obviated, by the substitution of coals; and the increased quantity of the cane-trash, which their magnitude will surnish (and which we reckon the richest manure we have, when properly prepared) will well indemnify the expence of firing.

"THE Batavia Canes are a deep purple on the outfide; they grow short-jointed, and small in circumference, but bunch exceedingly, and vegetate so quick, that they spring up from the plant in one-third the time those of our Island do; the joints, soon after they form, all burst longitudinally. They have the appearance of being very hardy, and bear dry weather

weather well; a few bunches were cut and made into fugar at the fame time the experiment was made with the white Canes. The report made to me of them was, that they yielded a great deal of juice, which feemed richer than that of the others, but the fugar was ftrongly tinged with the colour of the rind; and it was observed, that upon the expression of them at the mill, the juice was of a bright purple; but by the time it had reached through the spout to the clarifier (a very short distance) it became of a dingy iron colour. I am told the Batavia sugar imported into Amsterdam is very fair; so that if those Canes should otherwise answer well, means may doubtless be obtained to discharge the purple tinge from their juice."

London, 1794.







HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

The British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THEIR ANCIENT STATE AND INHABITANTS.

CHAP. I.

Geographical arrangement. — Name. — Climate. — Sea-breeze, and Land-wind. - Beauty and fingularity of the vegetable and animal creation .-Magnificence and sublimity of the mountains: reflections concerning the origin of these islands, Ec.

TEOGRAPHERS, following the diftribution of Nature, divide the vast Continent of America into two great parts, North and South; the narrow but mountainous Isthmus of ment, Darien ferving as a link to connect them together, and forming a rampart against the encroachments of the Atlantick on the one fide, VOL. I. and

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and of the Pacifick Ocean on the other. These great Oceans were anciently distinguished also, from their relative situation, by the names of the North and South Seas (a).

Name.

To that prodigious chain of Islands which extend in a curve from the Florida Shore on the Northern Peninfula, to the Gulph of Venezuela in the Southern, is given the denomination of West Indies, from the name of India originally affigned to them by Columbus. This illustrious Navigator planned his expedition, not, as Raynal and others have supposed, under the idea of introducing a New World to the knowledge of the Old; but, principally, in the view of finding a route to India by a Western navigation; which he was led to think would prove less tedious than by the Coast of Africa: and this conclusion would have been just, if the geography of the Ancients, on which it was founded, had been accurate (b). Indeed, fo firmly perfuaded was Columbus

(a) The appellation of North, applied to that part of the Atlantick which flows into the Gulph of Darien, feems now to be entirely difused; but the Pacifick is still commonly called the South Sea. It was discovered in 1513.

⁽b) "The spherical figure of the earth was known to the ancient geographers. They invented the method still in use, of computing the longitude and latitude of different places. According to their doctrine, the equator conplaces. According to their doctrine, the equator contained 360 degrees; these they divided into twenty-four parts,

Columbus of its truth and certainty, that he CHAP. continued to affer his belief of it after the difcovery of Cuba and Hifpaniola; not doubting that those islands constituted some part of the Eastern extremity of Asia: and the nations of Europe, fatisfied with fuch authority, concurred in the fame idea. Even when the discovery of the Pacifick Ocean had demonstrated his miftake, all the countries which Columbus had visited still retained the name of the Indies; and in contradiffinction to those at which the Portuguese, after passing the Cape of Good Hope, had at length arrived by an Eastern

parts, or hours, each equal to fifteen degrees. The country of the Seres or Sinæ being the farthest part of India known to the Ancients, was supposed, by Marinus Tyrius, the most eminent of the ancient geographers before Ptolemy, to be fifteen hours, or 225 degrees to the east of the first meridian, passing through the Fortunate Islands. If this supposition was well founded, the country of the Seres, or China, was only nine hours, or 135 degrees west from the Fortunate or Canary Islands; and the navigation in that direction was much shorter than by the course which the Portuguese were pursuing." From this account, for which the reader is indebted to the learned Dr. Robertson, it is evident that the scheme of Columbus was founded on rational fystematical principles, according to the light which his age afforded; whereas if he had proposed, without any fuch support, to discover a new hemisphere by failing westward; he would have been justly confidered as an arrogant and chimerical projector, and fuccess itself would not have reconciled his temerity to the fober dictates of reason.

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HISTORY OF THE

BOOK course, they were now denominated the *Indies of*1. the West (c).

Among the Geographers of those days, however, there were fome, who, envying the glory of Columbus, or giving more credit to ancient fable than to the achievements of their cotemporaries, perfifted in affigning to the newly-difcovered Islands the appellation of Antilia or Antiles: the name (according to Charlevoix) of an imaginary country, placed in ancient charts about two hundred leagues to the Westward of the Azores; and it is a name still very generally used by foreign Navigators, although the etymology of the word is as uncertain as the application of it is unjust. To the British nation the name beftowed by Columbus is abundantly more familiar: and thus the whole of the New Hemisphere is, with us, commonly comprised under three great divisions; North America, South America, and the West Indies (d).

Bur.

⁽c) Columbus failed on his first voyage the 3d of August, 1492. In 1494 Bartholemus Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope; but it was not doubled till the year 1497, when Vasquez de Gama succeeded (for the first time in modern navigation) in this, as it was then supposed, formidable attempt.

⁽d) The term Antiles is applied by Hoffman to the Windward or Charaibean Islands only, and is by him thus accounted for: "Dicuntur Antilæ Americæ quasi ante Insulas Americæ, nempe ante majores Insulas Sinús Mexicani." (Hoff-

WEST INDIES.

But, fubordinate to this comprehensive and CHAP. fimple arrangement, necessity or convenience has introduced more minute and local distinctions, That portion of the Atlantick, which is feparated from the main Ocean to the North and to the East, by the Islands I have mentioned, although commonly known by the general appellation of the Mexican Gulph, is itself properly fubdivided into three diffinct Basins: the Gulph of Mexico, the Bay of Honduras, and the Charaibean Sea (e). The latter takes its

man Lexic. Univ.) Rochfort and Du Tertre explain the word nearly in the fame manner, while Monf. D'Anville applies the name to those islands only, which are more immediately opposed to, or fituated against, the Continent: thus he terms Cuba, Hifpaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, the Great Antiles, and the small Islands of Aruba, Curaçoa, Bonair, Magaritta, and some others near the coast of Caraccas on the Southern Peninfula, the Lefs; excluding the Charaibean Islands altogether. A recurrence to the early Spanish Historians would have demonstrated to all these writers, that the word Antilia was applied to Hispaniola and Cuba, before the discovery either of the Windward Islands, or any part of the American Continent. This appears from the following passage is the First Book of the First Decad of Peter Martyr, which bears date from the Court of Spain, November 1493, eight months only after Columbus's return from his first expedition; "Ophiram Insulam sese reperisse refert: fed Cosmographorum tractu diligenter considerato, Antiliæ Infulæ funt illæ et adjacentes aliæ: hanc Hifpaniolam appellavit, &c."

(e) Vide Introduction to the West Indian Atlas, by Jefferies.

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name

BOOK name from that class of Islands which bound this part of the Ocean to the East. Most of these were anciently poffeffed by a nation of Cannibals, the scourge and terror of the mild and inoffenfive natives of Hispaniola, who frequently expreffed to Columbus their dread of those fierce and warlike invaders, stiling them Charaibes or Caribbees (f). And it was in consequence of this information, that the Islands to which these favages belonged, when discovered afterwards by Columbus, were by him denominated generally the Charaibean Islands.

Or this class, however, a group nearly adjoining to the Eastern fide of St. John de Porto Rico, is likewise called the Virgin Isles; a distinction of which the origin will be explained in its place (g).

(f) Herrera, lib. i. Fer. Columbus, chap. xxxiii.

(g) It may be proper to observe, that the old Spanish Navigators, in speaking of the West Indian Islands in general, frequently diftinguish them also into two classes, by the terms Barlovento and Sotavento, from whence our Windward and Leeward Islands; the Charaibean constituting in strict propriety the former class (and as such I shall speak of them in the course of this work), and the four large Islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hifpaniola, and Porto Rico, the latter. But our English mariners appropriate both terms to the Charaibean Islands only, subdividing them according to their fituation in the course of the trade wind; the Windward Islands by their arrangement terminating, I believe, with Martinico, and the Leeward commencing at Dominica, and extending to Porto Rico.

NEITHER

NEITHER must it pass unobserved, that the CHAP. name of Bahama is commonly applied by the English to that cluster of small islands, rocks, and reefs of fand, which stretch in a northwesterly direction for the space of near three hundred leagues, from the Northern coast of Hispaniola to the Bahama Strait, opposite the Florida Shore. Whether this appellation is of Indian origin, as commonly supposed, is a question I cannot answer; neither does it merit very anxious investigation: yet these little islands have deservedly a claim to particular notice; for it was one of them (h) that had the honour of first receiving Columbus, after a voyage the most bold and magnificent in defign, and the most important in its consequences, of any that the mind of man has conceived, or national adventure undertaken, from the beginning of the world to the prefent hour,

Most of the countries of which I propose Climate. to treat being fituated beneath the tropick of Cancer, the circumstances of climate, as well in regard to general heat, as to the periodical rains and confequent variation of feafons, are nearly the fame throughout the whole. The tempe-

(h) Called by the Indians Guanahani, by the Spaniards St. Salvadore, and is known to English seamen by the name of Cat Island. The whole group is called by the Spaniards Lucayos.

B 4

rature

rature of the air varies indeed confiderably according to the elevation of the land; but, with this exception, the medium degree of heat is much the fame in all the countries of this part of the globe.

A TROPICAL year feems properly to comprehend but two distinct seasons; the wet and the dry; but as the rains in these climates constitute two great periods, I shall describe it, like the European year, under four divisions.

THE vernal feafon, or Spring, may be faid to commence with the month of May, when the foliage of the trees evidently becomes more vivid, and the parched favannas begin to change their ruffet hue, even previous to the first periodical rains, which are now daily expected, and generally fet in about the middle of the month. These, compared with the Autumnal rains, may be faid to be gentle showers. They come from the South, and commonly fall every day about noon, and break up with thunder-storms; creating a bright and beautiful verdure, and a rapid and luxuriant vegetation. The thermometer at this feafon varies confiderably; commonly falling fix or eight degrees immediately after the diurnal rains: its medium height may be stated at 75°.

AFTER these rains have continued about a fortnight, the weather becomes dry, settled, and salutary;

falutary; and the tropical Summer reigns in full CHAP. glory. Not a cloud is to be perceived; and the sky blazes with irrefistible fierceness. For some hours, commonly between feven and ten in the morning, before the fetting in of the fea-breeze or trade-wind, which at this feafon blows from the fouth-east with great force and regularity until late in the evening, the heat is fcarcely fupportable; but, no fooner is the influence felt of this refreshing wind, than all Nature revives, and the climate, in the shade, becomes not only very tolerable, but pleafant. The thermometer now varies but little in the whole twenty-four hours: its medium, near the coast, may be flated at about 80°. I have feldom observed it higher than 85° at noon, nor much below 75° at sun-rise *.

THE nights at this feafon are transcendently beautiful. The clearness and brilliancy of the heavens, the ferenity of the air, and the foft tranquillity in which Nature reposes, contribute to harmonize the mind, and produce the most

* Mr. Long, in his history of Jamaica, justly observes, that " it is not merely a high degree of heat which renders a climate unwholesome, but the sudden change from great heat to (comparatively) great coolness, and vice versa." Such transitions frequently occur in the fouthern provinces of North America. In Virginia, Mr. Jefferson relates, that the mercury in Farenheit's thermometer has been known to defcend from 92° to 47° in thirteen hours. The West India Islands are happily exempt from those noxious variations.

calm

BOOK calm and delightful fensations. The moon too in these climates displays far greater radiance than in Europe. The fmallest print is legible by her light, and in the moon's absence her function is not ill fupplied by the brightness of the milky-way, and by that glorious planet Venus, which appears here like a little moon, and glitters with fo refulgent a beam as to cast a shade from trees, buildings, and other objects, making full amends for the short stay and abrupt departure of the crepusculum or twilight (i).

This state of the weather commonly continues, with little variation, from the beginning of June until the middle of August, when the diurnal breeze begins to intermit, and the atmosphere becomes fultry, incommodious and fuffocating. In the latter end of this month, and most part of September, we look about in vain for coolness and comfort. The thermometer occasionally exceeds 90°, and instead of a fleady and refreshing wind from the sea, there

⁽i) In the mountainous and interior parts of the larger islands, innumerable fire-flies abound at night, which have a furprifing appearance to a ftranger. They confift of different species, some of which emit a light, resembling a spark of fire, from a globular prominence near each eye; and others from their fides in the act of respiration. They are far more luminous than the glow-worm, and fill the air on all fides, like fo many living stars, to the great assonishment and admiration of a traveller unaccustomed to the country.-In the day-time they disappear. are

are usually faint breezes and calms alternately. CHAP. These are preludes to the second periodical, or Autumnal, feafon. Large towering clouds, fleecy and of a reddish hue, are now seen, in the morning, in the quarters of the fouth and foutheast; the tops of the mountains at the same time appear clear of clouds, and the objects upon them wear a blueish cast, and seem much nearer to the spectator than usual. When these vast accumulations of vapour have risen to a considerable height in the atmosphere, they commonly move horizontally towards the mountains, proclaiming their progress in deep and rolling thunder, which, reverberated from peak to peak, and answered by the distant roaring of the sea, heightens the majesty of the scene, and irrefiftibly lifts up the mind of the spectator to the great Author of all fublimity *.

THE waters, however, with which these congregated vapours load the atmosphere, feldom fall with great and general force until the beginning of October. It is then that the heavens pour down cataracts. An European who has

* The thunder generally ceases towards the evening, but. as the night fets in, the eye is irrefiftibly attracted towards the mountains by the distant lightening, which issues from the clouds in ten thousand brilliant coruscations, and plays harmlessly along the fummits of the mountains in various fantaftick shapes. It is said that the Aurora Borealis is never seen in the West Indies; but I have beheld lunar rainbows frequently.

not visited these climates, can form no just conception of the quantity of water which deluges the earth at this season: by an exact account which was kept of the rain which fell in one year in Barbadoes (1754) it appeared to have been $87\frac{1}{100}$ cubic inches, equal to 7 feet $3\frac{1}{100}$.

inches perpendicular *.

It is now, in the interval between the beginning of August and the latter end of October, that hurricanes, those dreadful visitations of the Almighty, are apprehended. The prognosticks of these elementary conslicts, have been minutely described by various writers, and their effects are known by late mournful experience to every inhabitant of every island within the tropicks, but their immediate cause seems to lie far beyond the limits of our circumscribed knowledge.

Towards

† Earthquakes also are not unfrequent; but none have been productive of mischief since the fatal one of June

^{*} Taking the whole islands throughout, from fixty to fixty-five inches appear to be about the medium of rain in seasonable years. If this quantity should annually fall in England, the country would be deluged, and the fruits of the earth destroyed. The power of the sun, at that distance from the equator, would be too feeble to exhale a sufficient quantity of it. On the other hand, if so small a portion as 21 inches only, should fall in the whole year at Barbadoes or Jamaica, where the exhalation by the sun and the seabreeze is so great, the springs and rivers would probably be dried up, and the inhabitants perish by thirst and famine.

Towards the end of November, or fometimes not till the middle of December, a confiderable change in the temperature of the air is perceivable. The coafts to the northward are now beaten by a rough and heavy fea, roaring with inceffant noife; the wind varies from the east to the north-east and north, sometimes driving before it, across the highest mountains, not only heavy rains but hail; till at length, the north wind having acquired sufficient force, the atmosphere is cleared; and now comes on a succession of serene and pleasant weather, the north-east and northerly winds spreading coolness and delight throughout the whole of this burning region.

IF this interval, therefore, from the beginning of December to the end of April, be called winter, it is certainly the finest winter on the globe. To valetudinarians and persons advanced in life, it is the climate of Paradise.

1692, which swallowed up Port Royal. Slight shocks are felt in Jamaica I believe every year, generally about the month of June, immediately after the May rains. If I might venture into the regions of conjecture, I should impute these little concussions solely to changes in the atmosphere, and rather call them air-quakes than earthquakes: they are however very terrifying. During the Autumnal rains the climate is very sickly, and the four last months of the year commonly prove fatal to a great many of the old inhabitants, but more especially to persons of a full habit newly arrived from Europe, and seafaring people.

THE

BOOK 1.

THE account which I have thus given is, how ever, to be received not as uniformly exact and minutely particular; but as a general representation only, fubject to many variations and exceptions. In the large islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, whose lofty mountains are clothed with forests perhaps as old as the deluge, the rains are much more frequent and violent than in the fmall islands to windward; fome of which are without mountains, and others without wood; both powerful agents on the atmosphere. In the interior and elevated districts of the three former islands, I believe there are showers in every month of the year; and on the northern coasts of those islands, considerable rains are expected in December or January, foon after the fetting in of the north winds.

Winds.

Concerning the trade-wind, or diurnal feabreeze, which blows in these climates from the east, and its collateral points, with little intermission or variation nine months in the year, the causes of it having been traced and displayed by numerous writers, it is unnecessary for me to treat; but the peculiarity of the landwind by night (than which nothing can be more grateful and refreshing) has been less generally noticed. This is an advantage, among others, which the larger islands of the West Indies derive from the great inequality of their surface; for as the plains being rarefied, ascends towards the tops of the mountains, and is there condensed by the cold; which making it specifically heavier than it was before, it descends back to the plains on both sides of the ridge. Hence a night-wind is felt in all the mountainous countries under the torrid zone, blowing on all sides from the land towards the shore, so that on a north shore the wind shall come from the south, and on the south shore from the north. Agreeably to this hypothesis, it is observable that in the islands to windward, where they have no mountains, they have no land-breeze (k).

OF the general appearance of a distant country, and the scenery with which it is clothed, it is difficult, by mere verbal description, to convey an idea. To the first discoverers, the prospect of these islands must have been interesting beyond all that imagination can at present conceive. Even at this day, when the mind is prepared

General appearance.

(*) The account thus given of the land-wind, is chiefly in the words of Dr. Franklin, whose description is so precise and accurate as to admit of no improvement. In Barbadoes, and most of the small islands to windward, the seabreeze blows as well by night as by day. It is sometimes the case in Jamaica in the months of June and July, the land at that time being heated to such a degree, that the cold air of the mountains is not sufficiently dense to check the current which slows from the sea.

and

counts, they are beheld by the voyager for the first time, with strong emotions of admiration and pleasure; arising not only from the novelty of the scene, but also from the beauty of the smaller islands, and the sublimity of the larger, whose losty mountains form a stupendous and awful picture; the subject both of wonder and contemplation (1).

Non

(1) To the first voyagers to the West Indies, many must have been the objects of aftonishment, and in some respects of terror, even before the appearance of land; fuch as the variation of the compass, the regularity of the winds, the water-spout, and other phænomena; of the existence of which they were previously unapprized. It is in such cases that terror exerts its power over the mind with uncontroulable ascendancy; for reason and reflection can furnish no argument to oppose to its progress. Columbus in truth found himself amidst a new creation. What, for instance, could have more ftrongly excited curiofity than the first fight of that wonderful little animal the flying fish? Who would have believed that the natives of the deep had power to quit their watery element, and fly aloft with the birds of the air! It was an era of miracles, and confidering the propenfity of mankind to magnify what truly is strange, the modesty displayed by Columbus in speaking of his enterprises and discoveries, and the strict adherence to truth which he appears on all occasions to have manifested, form a very diftinguishing feature in his character. In general the travellers of those days not only reported wonderful things which never existed, but sometimes even really believed what they reported. In 1512 John Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard of distinction (as we are informed by Herrera) actually took a voyage

17

CHAP.

Non did these promising territories disappoint expectation on a nearer fearch and more accurate inspection. Columbus, whose veracity has never been suspected, speaks of their beauty and fertility in terms of the highest admiration: "There " is a river (he observes in one of his letters to "King Ferdinand written from Cuba) which " discharges itself into the harbour that I have " named Porto Santo, of fufficient depth to be " navigable. I had the curiofity to found it, " and found it eight fathom. Yet the water is " fo limpid, that I can eafily difcern the fand at " the bottom. The banks of this river are em-" bellished with lofty palm-trees, whose shade " gives a delicious freshness to the air; and the " birds and the flowers are uncommon and beau-" tiful. I was fo delighted with the scene, that " I had almost come to the resolution of staying * here the remainder of my days; for believe

voyage to Florida for the purpose of bathing in the River Bimini, which he had been told and believed would restore him to youth, like the cauldron of Medea. If we laugh at the credulity of this old man, what shall we say to our own learned countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, who fixty years afterwards, in the history of his voyage to Guiana, gives an account of a nation who were born without heads, and whose eyes were placed in their shoulders. Raleigh does not indeed pretend that he had seen any of these strange people himself, but he repeats what he had heard from others with a gravity and solemnity which evince that he seriously believed their existence. See his account of Guiana in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii.

Vol. I.

C

" me,

воо K т. " me, Sire, these countries far surpass all the "rest of the world in beauty and conveniency;

" and I have frequently observed to my people,

"that, with all my endeavours to convey to your Majesty an adequate idea of the charm-

"ing objects which continually present them-

" felves to our view, the description will fall

" greatly short of the reality."

How ill informed, or prejudiced, are those writers, therefore, who, affecting to disbelieve, or endeavouring to palliate, the enormities of the Spanish invaders, represent these once delightful fpots, when first discovered by Columbus, to have been fo many impenetrable and unhealthy deferts! It is true, that after the Spaniards, in the course of a few bloody years, had exterminated the ancient and rightful possessions, the earth, left to its own natural fertility, beneath the influence of a tropical fun, teemed with noxious vegetation. Then, indeed, the fairest of these islands became so many frightful solitudes; impervious and unwholesome. Such was the condition of Jamaica when wrested from the Spanish Crown in 1655, and such is the condition of great part of Cuba and Porto Rico at this day: for the infinitely wife and benevolent Governor of the universe, to compel the exertion of those faculties which he has given us, has ordained, that by human cultivation alone, the the earth becomes the proper habitation of chap.

man (m).

Bur as the West Indian Islands in their ancient state were not without culture, so neither were they generally noxious to health. The plains or favannas were regularly fown, twice in the year, with that species of grain which is now well known in Europe by the name of Turkey Wheat. It was called by the Indians Mahez, or Maize, a name it still bears in all the Islands, and does not require very laborious cultivation. This however constituted but a part only, and not the most considerable part, of the vegetable food of the natives. As these countries were at the fame time extremely populous, both the hills and the vallies (of the fmaller islands especially) were necessarily cleared of underwood, and the trees which remained afforded a shade that was cool, airy, and delicious. Of these trees some, as

⁽m) Dr. Lind, in his "Essay on the Diseases of Hot Cli"mates," has preserved an extract from the Journal of an
Officer who sailed up a river on the coast of Guinea, which
affords a striking illustration of this remark: "We were
"(fays the Officer) thirty miles distant from the sea, in a
"country altogether uncultivated, overslowed with water—
furrounded with thick impenetrable woods, and overrun
"with slime. The air was so vitiated, noisome and thick,
"that our torches and candles burnt dim, and seemed ready to be
"extinguished; and even the human voice lost its natural tone."
Part I. p. 64.

BOOK I.

the papaw and palmeto (n), are, without doubt, the most graceful of all the vegetable creation. Others continue to bud, blossom, and bear fruit throughout the year. Nor is it undeserving notice, that the soliage of the most part springing only from the summit of the trunk, and thence expanding into wide-spreading branches, closely but elegantly arranged, every grove is an assemble.

(n) The species here meant (for there are several) is the palmeto-royal, or mountain-cabbage, so called because the upper part of the trunk is sometimes eaten, and supposed to resemble the European cabbage in flavour. Ligon mentions some, at the first settlement of Barbadoes, about 200 feet in height; but Mr. Hughes observes, that the highest in his time, in that island, was 134 feet. I am inclined to believe, that I have seen them in Jamaica upwards of 150 feet in height; but it is impossible to speak with certainty without an actual measurement. "Neither the tall cedars of Lebanon (says Hughes) nor any trees of the forest, are equal to it in height, beauty, or proportion; so that it claims among vegetables, that superiority which Virgil gives to Rome among the cities of Italy:

Verum hæc tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes, Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi?"

The upper part of the trunk, from whence the foliage fprings, refembles a well-turned finely polifhed balufter, of a lively green colour, gently fwelling from its pedeftal, and diminishing gradually to the top, where it expands into branches waving like plumes of offrich feathers. From the center of the fummit rifes the *spatha* or sheath, terminating in an acute point. The trunk itself is not less graceful; being a straight, smooth, slightly annulated column, large at the base, and tapering from thence to the insertion of the baluster or cabbage.

blage

blage of majestick columns, supporting a ver- CHAP. dant canopy, and excluding the fun, without impeding the circulation of the air. Thus the shade, at all times impervious to the blaze, and refreshed by the diurnal breeze, affords, not merely a refuge from occasional inconveniency, but a most wholesome and delightful retreat and habitation.

Such were these orchards of the Sun, and woods of perennial verdure; of a growth unknown to the frigid clime and less vigorous soil of Europe; for what is the oak compared to the cedar or mahogany, of each of which the trunk frequently measures from eighty to ninety feet from the base to the limbs? What European forest has ever given birth to a stem equal to that of the ceiba (o), which alone, fimply rendered concave, has been known to produce a boat capable of containing one hundred perfons? or the still greater fig, the fovereign of the vegetable creation,—itself a forest (p)?

THE

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd, But fuch as at this day to Indians known In Malabar and Decan, fpreads her arms,

C 3

Branching

⁽o) The wild cotton tree.

⁽p) This monarch of the woods, whose empire extends over Asia and Africa, as well as the tropical parts of America, is described by our divine Poet with great exactness:

300K

The majestick scenery of these gigantick groves was, at the same time, enlivened by the singular forms of some, and the surprising beauty of others of the inferior animals which possessed and peopled them. Although these will be more fully described in the sequel, a few observations which at present occur to me, will, I hope, be forgiven. If it be true, as it hath been afferted, that in most of the regions of the torrid zone, the heat of the sun is, as it were, resected in the untameable fierceness of their wild beasts, and in the exalted rage and venom of the numerous serpents with which they are insested, the Sovereign Disposer of all things has regarded the Islands of the West Indies with peculiar fa-

Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bearded twigs take root, and daughters grow
Above the mother tree, a pillar'd shade,
High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between!
Paradise Lost, Book IX.

And with still greater precision by Quintus Curtius (who, in this instance at least, is not fabulous): Sylvæ erant prope immensum spatium dissuæ, procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosæ. Plerique rami instar insentium stipitum stexi in humum, rursus, qua se curvaverunt erigebantur, adeo ut species essent non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generatæ. It is called in the East Indies the banyan-tree. Mr. Marsden gives the following Account of the dimensions of one, near Manjee, twenty miles west of Patna in Bengal: Diameter, 363 to 375 feet; circumserence of the shadow at noon, 1116 feet; circumserence of the several stems, in number sifty or sixty, 921 feet. Hist. Sumatra, p. 131.

vour;

your; inafmuch as their ferpents are wholly CHAP. destitute of poison (q), and they possess no animal of prey, to desolate their vallies. crocodile, or alligator, is indeed fometimes disco-

(9) I fay this on the authority of Brown, Charlevoix, and Hughes (of whom the first compiled the History of Jamaica, the fecond that of Hispaniola, and the last that of Barbadoes) -on the testimony of many gentlemen who have resided in feveral of the Windward Islands-and on my own experience during a refidence of eighteen years in Jamaica. In that time I neither knew nor heard of any person being hurt from the bite of any one species of the numerous snakes or lizards known in that island. Some of the snakes I have myself handled with perfect fecurity. I conclude, therefore, (notwithstanding the contrary affertion of Du Tertre respecting Martinico and St. Lucia) that all the Islands are providentially exempted from this evil. Nevertheless it must be admitted, that the circumstance is extraordinary; inasmuch as every part of the continent of America, but especially those provinces which lie under the Equator, abound in a high degree with ferpents, whose bite is mortal. Dr. Bancroft, in his Account of Guiana, gives a dreadful lift of fuch as are found in that extensive country; and, in speaking of one, of a species which he calls the small labarra, makes mention of a negro who was unfortunately bit by it in the finger. The negro had but just time to kill the fnake, when his limbs became unable to support him, and he fell to the ground, and expired in less than five minutes. - Dr. Dancer, in his History of the Expedition from Jamaica to Fort Juan on the Lake of Nicaragua, in 1780, which he attended as physician, relates the following circumstance: A fnake hanging from the bough of a tree bit one of the foldiers, as he paffed along, just under the orbit of the left eye; from whence the poor man felt fuch intense pain, that he was unable to proceed: and when a messenger was sent to him a few hours afterwards,

C 4

BOOK
I.

vered on the banks of their rivers; but notwithstanding all that has been faid of its fierce and favage disposition, I pronounce it, from my own knowledge, a cautious and timid creature, avoiding, with the utmost precipitation, the approach of man. The rest of the lizard kind are perfectly innocent and inoffensive. Some of them are even fond of human fociety. They embellish our walks by their beauty, and court our attention by gentleness and frolick; but their kindness, I know not why, is returned by aversion and disgust. Anciently the woods of almost all the equatorial parts of America abounded with various tribes of the smaller monkey, a fportive and fagacious little creature, which the people of Europe feem likewise to have regarded with unmerited detestation; for they hunted them down with fuch barbarous affiduity, that in feveral of the iflands every fpecies of them has been long fince exterminated. Of the feathered race too, many tribes have now nearly deferted those shores where polished man

he was found dead, with all the fymptoms of putrefaction, a yellowness and swelling over his whole body; and the eye near to which he was bitten, wholly dissolved. This circumstance was confirmed to me by General Kemble, who commanded in chief on that expedition. It may not be useless to add, that those serpents which are venomous are furnished with sangs somewhat resembling the tusks of a boar; they are moveable, and inserted in the upper jaw.

delights

delights in spreading universal and capricious CHAP. destruction. Among these, one of the most remarkable was the flamingo, an elegant and princely bird, nearly as large as the fwan, and arrayed in plumage of the brightest scarlet. Numerous, however, are the feathered kinds, deservedly distinguished by their splendour and beauty, that still animate these sylvan recesses. The parrot, and its various affinities, from the maccaw to the parroquet, some of them not larger than a fparrow, are too well known to require description. These are as plentiful in the larger islands of the West Indies as the rook is in Europe. But the boaft of American groves is doubtless the colibry, or humming bird; of the brilliance of whose plumage no combination of words, nor tints of the pencil, can convey an adequate idea. The confummate green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyst, and the vivid flame of the ruby, all happily blended and enveloped beneath a transparent veil of waving gold, are diffinguishable in every species, but differently arranged and apportioned in each. Nor is the minuteness of its form less the object of admiration, than the luftre of its plumage; the smallest species not exceeding the fize of a beetle, and appearing the link which connects the bird and infect creation.

It has been observed, however, that although BOOK I. though nature is profuse of ornament to the birds of the torrid zone, she has bestowed far greater powers of melody on those of Europe; and the observation is partly true. That prodigality and variety of mufick which in the vernal feafon enlivens the British groves, is certainly unknown to the shades of the tropical regions; yet are not these altogether filent or inharmonious. The note of the mockbird is defervedly celebrated, while the hum of myriads of bufy infects, and the plaintive melody of the innumerable variety of doves abounding in these climates, form a concert, which, if it ferves not to awaken the fancy, contributes at least to footh the affections, and, like the murmuring of a rivulet, gives harmony to repose.

Moun-

But, refigning to the naturalist the task of minutely describing the splendid aerial tribes of these regions, whose variety is not less remarkable than their beauty, I now return from these, the smallest and most pleasing forms of active life, to the largest and most awful objects of inanimate nature. The transition is abrupt; but it is in the magnitude, extent, and elevation of the mountains of the New World, that the Almighty has most strikingly manifested the wonders of his omnipotence. Those of South America are supposed to be nearly twice the height of the highest in the ancient hemisphere, and,

WEST INDIES.

even under the equator, have their tops involved CHAP. in everlasting snow. To those massive piles, the loftiest summits of the most elevated of the West Indian Islands cannot indeed be compared; but fome of these rife, nevertheless, in amazing grandeur, and are among the first objects that fix the attention of the voyager. The mountains of Hispaniola in particular, whose wavy ridges are descried from sea at the distance of thirty leagues, towering far above the clouds in ftupendous magnificence, and the blue mountains of Jamaica, have never yet, that I have heard, been fully explored. Neither curiofity nor avarice has hitherto ventured to invade the topmost of those lofty regions. In such of them as are accessible, nature is found to have put on the appearance of a new creation. As the climate changes, the trees, the birds, and the infects are feen also to differ from those which are met with below. To an unaccustomed spectator, looking down from those heights, the whole scene appears like enchantment. The first object which catches the eye at the dawn of day, is a vaft expanse of vapour, covering the whole face of the vallies. Its boundaries being perfectly diffinct and visibly circumscribed, it has the exact refernblance of an immense body of water; whilst the mountains appear like fo many islands in the midst of a beautiful lake. As the sun increases

in

BOOK I. in force, the prospect varies: the incumbent vapours fly upward, and melt into air; disclosing all the beauties of nature, and the triumphs of industry, heightened and embellished by the full blaze of a tropical fun. In the equatorial feafon, fcenes of still greater magnificence frequently present themselves; for, while all is calm and ferene in the higher regions, the clouds are feen below fweeping along the fides of the mountains in vast bodies; until growing more ponderous by accumulation, they fall at length in torrents of water on the plains. The found of the tempest is distinctly heard by the spectator above; the diftant lightning is feen to irradiate the gloom; while the thunder, reverberated in a thousand echoes, rolls far beneath his feet.

Reflections, &c. But, lofty as the tropical mountains generally are, it is wonderfully true, that all the known parts of their fummits furnish incontestible evidence that the sea had once dominion over them. Even their appearance at a distance affords an argument in support of this conclusion. Their ridges resemble billows, and their various inequalities, inflexions, and convexities, seem justly ascribable to the fluctuations of the deep. As in other countries too, marine shells are found in great abundance in various parts of these heights. I have seen on a mountain in the interior parts of Jamaica petrified oysters dug

tip, which perfectly refembled, in the most CHAP. minute circumstances, the large oysters of the western coast of England; a species not to be found at this time, I believe, in the feas of the West Indies. Here then, is an ample field for conjecture to expatiate in; and indeed few fubjects have afforded greater exercise to the pens of physical writers, than the appearances I have mentioned. While fome philosophers affign the origin of all the various inequalities of the earth to the ravages of the deluge, others, confidering the mountains as the parents of springs and rivers, maintain that they are coeval with the world; and that, first emerging from the abyss, they were created with it. Some again ascribe them to the force of volcanoes and earthquakes: " the Almighty," fay they, "while he permits fubterranean fires to swallow up cities and plains in one part of the globe, causes them to produce promontories and islands in another, which afterwards become the fruitful feats of industry and happiness (r)."

ALL these and other theorists concur, however, in the belief that the surface of the globe has undergone many surprising and violent convulsions and changes since it first came from the hands of the Creator. Hills have sunk

(1) Goldsmith's History of the Earth, &c. vol. i.

into

BOOK

into plains, and vallies have been exalted into hills. Respecting the numerous islands of the West Indies, they are generally considered as the tops of losty mountains, the eminences of a great continent, converted into islands by a tremendous concussion of nature, which, increasing the natural course of the ocean from East to West, has laid a vast extent of level country under water (1).

But, notwithstanding all that has been written on this subject, very little seems to be known. The advocates of this system do not sufficiently consider, that the sea could not have covered so great a portion of land on one side of the globe, without leaving an immense space as suddenly dry on the other. We have no record in history of so mighty a revolution, nor indeed are many of the premises on which this hypothesis is built, established in truth.

Origin.

PERHAPS, instead of considering these islands as the fragments of a desolated continent, we ought rather to regard them as the rudiments of a new one. It is extremely probable, that many of them, even now, are but beginning to emerge from the bosom of the deep. Mr. Buffon has shewn, by incontrovertible evidence, that the bottom of the sea bears an exact resemblance

(1) See L'Abbé Raynal, L'Abbé Pluche, and others.

to the land which we inhabit; confifting, CHAP. like the earth, of hills and vallies, plains and hollows, rocks, fands and foils of every confiftence and species. To the motion of the waves, and the fediments which they have deposited, he imputes too, with great probability, the regular positions of the various strata or layers which compose the upper parts of the earth; and he shews that this arrangement cannot have been the effect of a fudden revolution, but of causes flow, gradual, and succeffive in their operations. To the flow of tides and rivers, depositing materials which have been accumulating ever fince the creation, and the various fluctuations of the deep operating thereon, he ascribes therefore, most of those inequalities in the prefent appearance of the globe which in some parts embellish, and in others (to our limited view at least) deface it.

Pursuing this train of thought, we may be led perhaps to confider many of the most terrifying appearances of nature, as necessary and propitious in the formation and support of the system of the world; and even in volcanoes and earthquakes (of which most of these islands bear evident memorials) we may trace the stupendous agency of divine providence, employed, as mankind increase in numbers, in raising up from the bottom of the deep new portions of land for their habitations and comfort.

THESE



BOOK
I.

THESE confiderations are founded in piety, and feem confonant to reason; and although in contemplating the tremendous phenomena which the mountains of South America, beyond all other parts of the globe, present to our notice (t), and reflecting on the devastations which they spread, human reason will sometimes find itself perplexed and difmayed, may we not by analogy conclude, that the Almighty, uniform in his purposes; is equally wife and benevolent in all his dispensations, though the scale on which he acts is fometimes too large for the fpan of our limited and feeble comprehension? They who feem best qualified to contemplate the works of the Deity, will most readily acknowledge that it is not for man to unfold the page of Omnipotence. Happy if to conscious ignorance we add humble adoration!

(t) "Of all parts of the earth America is the place where the dreadful irregularities of nature are the most conspicuous. Vesuvius, and Etna itself, are but mere fireworks in comparison to the burning mountains of the Andes, which, as they are the highest mountains in the world, so also are they the most formidable for their eruptions."——Goldsmith's History of the Earth, &c. vol. i. p. 99.

It is related, that a volcanick explosion from Cotopaxi, a mountain in the province of Quito, has been heard at the

distance of 150 miles.

CHAP. II.

Of the Charaibes, or ancient Inhabitants of the Windward Islands .- Origin .- Difficulties attending an accurate investigation of their character.-Such particulars related as are least disputed, concerning their manners and dispositions, persons and domestick habits, education of their children, arts, manufactures and government, religious rites, funeral ceremonies, &c .- Some reflections drawn from the whole.

HAVING thus given an account of the cli- CHAP. mate and feafons, and endeavoured to convey to the reader some faint idea of the beauty and magnificence with which the hand of Nature arrayed the furface of these numerous Islands, I shall now proceed to enquire after those inhabitants to whose support and conveniency they were chiefly found fubfervient, when they first came to the knowledge of Europe.

Ir hath been observed in the preceding chapter that Columbus, on his first arrival at Hispaniola, received information of a barbarous and warlike people, a nation of Cannibals, who frequently made depredations on that, and the neighbouring Islands. They were called Caribbees, or Charaibes, and were represented as com-

VOL. I. D ing

B O O K

ing from the East. Columbus, in his second voyage, discovered that they were the inhabitants of the Windward Islands.

THE great difference in language and character between these savages and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico, hath given birth to an opinion that their origin also was different. Of this there seems indeed to be but little doubt; but the question from whence each class of Islands was first peopled, is of more difficult folution. Rochefort, who published his account of the Antilles in 1658, pronounces the Charaibes to have been originally a nation of Florida, in North America.-He supposes that a colony of the Apalachian Indians having been driven from that continent, arrived at the Windward Islands, and exterminating the ancient male inhabitants, took possession of their lands and their women. Of the larger islands he prefumes that the natural strength, extent and population affording fecurity to the natives, thefe happily escaped the destruction which overtook their unfortunate neighbours; and thus arose the distinction observable between the inhabitants of the larger and fmaller islands (a).

⁽a) Rochefort Histoire des Isles Antilles, liv. ii. c. vii. See also, P. Labat nouveau Voyage aux Isles de L'Amerique, tom. iv. c. xv.

To this account of the origin of the Infular CHAP. Charaibes, the generality of historians have given their affent; but there are doubts attending it that are not easily folved. If they migrated from Florida, the imperfect state and natural course of their navigation, induce a belief that traces of them would have been found on those islands which are near to the Florida Shore; yet the natives of the Bahamas, when difcovered by Columbus, were evidently a fimilar people to those of Hispaniola (b). Besides, it is fufficiently known that there existed anciently many numerous and powerful tribes of Charaibes, on the fouthern Peninfula, extending from the river Oronoko to Effequebe, and throughout the whole province of Surinam, even to Brasil; some of which still maintain their independency. It was with one of those tribes that our countryman Sir Walter Raleigh formed an alliance, when that commander made his romantick expedition to the coast of Guiana in 1595 (c); and by him we are affured that the Charaibes of that part of the Continent, spoke the language of Dominica (d). I incline therefore to the opinion of Martyr (e), and con-

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clude

⁽b) Herrera, lib. ix. chap. ii.

⁽c) Bancrost's History of Guiana, p. 259.

⁽d) Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 668.

⁽e) P. Martyr, Decad. 2. lib. i.

BOOK 1. clude that the islanders were rather a Colony from the Charaibes of South America, than from any nation of the North. Rochesort admits that their own traditions referred constantly to Guiana (f). It does not appear that they entertained the most remote idea of a Northern ancestry.

In may be thought, perhaps, that the Continental Charaibes were themselves emigrants from the Northern to the Southern Peninsula: but, without attempting to controvert the position to which recent discoveries seem indeed to have given a full confirmation, namely, that the Asiatick Continent first furnished inhabitants to the contiguous North-Western parts of America, I conceive the Charaibes to have been a distinct race, widely differing from all the Nations of the New Hemisphere; and I am even inclined to adopt the opinion of Hornius and other writers, who ascribe to them an oriental ancestry from across the Atlantick (g).

(f) Rochefort, liv. ii. c. vii. See also, Note 94 to Dr. Robertson's History of America. The people called Galibis, mentioned by Dr. R. are the Charaibes of the Continent, the term Galibis or Calibis (as it is written by Du Tertre) being, as I conceive, corrupted from Caribbee. Vide Lastau, tom.i. p. 297. and Du Tertre, tom.ii. p. 360.

(g) Some arguments in support of this opinion are subjoined in the Appendix to Book I.

ENQUIRTES

ENQUIRIES however into the origin of a re- CHAP. mote and unlettered race, can be profecuted with fuccess only by comparing their ancient manners, laws, language, and religious ceremonies with those of other nations. Unfortunately, in all or most of those particulars respecting the Charaibes, our knowledge is limited within a narrow circle. Of a people engaged in perpetual warfare, hunted from island to island by revenge and rapacity, few opportunities could have offered, even to those who might have been qualified for such refearches, of investigating the natural dispositions and habitual customs with minuteness and precision. Neither indeed could a just estimate have been formed of their national character, from the manners of fuch of them as were at length subjugated to the European yoke; for they loft, together with their freedom, many of their original characteristicks; and at last even the defire of acting from the impulse of their own minds. We difcern, fays Rochefort (h), a wonderful change in the dispositions and habits of the Charaibes. In some respects we have enlightened; in others (to our shame be it spoken) we have corrupted them. An old Charaibe thus addressed one of our planters on this subject: -" Our people," he complained, " are become " almost as bad as yours.—We are so much

(h) Rochefort, liv. ii. ch. ix. p. 436.

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HISTORY OF THE

B O O K

"altered fince you came among us, that we hardly know ourselves, and we think it is owing to so melancholy a change, that hurricanes are more frequent than they were formerly. It is the evil spirit who has done all this,—who has taken our best lands from us, and given us up to the dominion of the "Christians (i)."

My present investigation must therefore be necessarily defective. Nevertheless, by selecting and combining such memorials as are least controverted, I shall hope to exhibit a few striking particulars in the character of this ill-stated people, which, if I mistake not, will lead to some important conclusions in the study of human nature.

(i) This extract from Rochefort is furely a fufficient anfwer to the observations of Mons. de Chanvalon, who wrote
fo late as 1751, and, judging of all the Charaibes from the
few with whom he had any communication, represents
them as not possessing any fagacity or foresight beyond
mere animal instinct. He makes no allowance for their
degradation in a state of captivity and servitude, although
in another part of his book, speaking of the African blacks
in the West Indies, he dwells strongly on this circumstance
respecting the latter. "Peut on connoitre (he observes)
"Ie vrai genie d'un peuple opprimè, qui voit sans cesse les
"chatimens levès sur sa tete, et la violence toujours prête à
"être soutenue par la politique et la sûreté publique? Peut
"on juger de la valeur, quand elle est enchainée, et sans

" armees?"-Voyage a la Martinique, p. 58.

THEIR

THEIR fierce spirit and warlike disposition CHAP. have already been mentioned. Historians have not failed to notice these, among the most distinguishable of their qualities (k).—Restless, enterprizing and ardent, it would feem they confidered war as the chief end of their creation, and the rest of the human race as their natural prey; for they devoured without remorfe the bodies of fuch of their enemies (the men at least) as fell into their hands.—This custom is so repugnant to our feelings, that for a century past, until the late discoveries of a similar practice in the countries of the Pacifick Ocean, the philosophers of Europe had boldly impeached the ve-

(k) Dr. Robertson, in note 93 to the first vol. of his History of America, quotes from a MS. History of Ferdinand and Isabella, written by Andrew Bernaldes, the cotemporary and friend of Columbus, the following inflance of the bravery of the Charaibes. " A canoe with four men, two wo-" men, and a boy, unexpectedly fell in with Columbus's fleet. " A Spanish bark with 25 men was fent to take them, and "the fleet in the mean time cut off their communication with the shore. Instead of giving way to despair, the Cha-" raibes feized their arms with undaunted resolution, and " began the attack, wounding feveral of the Spaniards al-" though they had targets as well as other defensive armour, " and even after the canoe was overfet, it was with no little 66 difficulty and danger that some of them were secured, as " they continued to defend themselves, and to use their " bows with great dexterity while fwimming in the fea." -Herrera has recorded the fame anecdote.

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BOOK racity of the most eminent ancient voyagers who had first recorded the existence of it. Even Labat, who refided in the West Indies at a period when some of the Islands still remained in possession of the Charaibes, declares it to be his opinion that inftances of this abominable practice among them, were at all times extremely rare;-the effect only of a fudden impulse of revenge arifing from extraordinary and unprovoked injury; but that they ever made premeditated excursions to the larger islands, for the purpose of devouring any of the inhabitants, or of feizing them to be eaten at a future time, he very confidently denies (1).

NEVERTHELESS there is no circumstance in the history of mankind better attested than the universal prevalence of these practices among them. Columbus was not only informed of it by the natives of Hispaniola, as I have already related, but having landed himself at Guadaloupe on its first discovery (m), he beheld in feveral cottages the head and limbs of the human body recently feparated, and evidently kept for occasional repasts. He released, at the same time, feveral of the natives of Porto Rico, who, having been brought captives from thence, were

reserved

⁽¹⁾ Labat, tom. iv. p. 322.

⁽m) November 4, 1493.

referved as victims for the fame horrid pur- CHAP. pose (n).

Thus far, it must be confessed, the disposition of the Charaibes leaves no very favourable impression on the mind of the reader; by whom it is probable they will be confidered rather as beafts of prey, than as human beings; and he will think, perhaps, that it was nearly as juftifiable to exterminate them from the earth, as it would be to destroy the fiercest monsters of the wilderness; fince they who shew no mercy, are entitled to no pity.-

But, among themselves they were peaceable, and towards each other faithful, friendly and affectionate (o). They confidered all ftrangers, indeed, as enemies; and of the people of Europe they formed a right estimation. The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is faid to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana: they considered those islanders as a colony of Arrowauks, a nation of South America, with whom the Charaibes

⁽n) F. Columbus, cap. xlvi. Peter Martyr, Decad. I. lib. ii. Herrera, lib. ii. cap. vii. See also Bancroft's History of Guiana, p. 259, who is of opinion, that no other tribe of Indians in Guiana eat human flesh but the Charaibes. Amongst these, the proof that this practice still subsists is incontestible.

⁽o) Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 359. of

BOOK of that continent are continually at war (p). We can affign no cause for such hereditary and irreconcileable hostility. With regard to the people of Europe, it is allowed that, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence, it was given without referve. Their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. The Charaibes of Guiana still fondly cherish the tradition of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preferve the English colours which he left with them at parting (q). Or the loftiness of their fentiments and their

abhorrence of flavery, a writer, not very partial towards them, gives the following illustration: "There is not a nation on earth (fays Labat) (r) more jealous of their independency than the " Charaibes They are impatient under the " least infringement of it; and when, at any " time, they are witnesses to the respect and de-" ference which the natives of Europe observe " towards their superiors, they despise us as abject alaves; wondering how any man can be so base

as to crouch before his equal." Rochefort, who confirms this account, relates also that when kidnapped and carried from their native islands into flavery, as they frequently were, the mife-

rable

⁽p) Rochefort, liv. ii. chap. x. p. 449.

⁽⁹⁾ Bancroft, p. 259. (r) Labat, tom. iv. p. 329.

rable captives commonly funk under a fense of their missfortune, and finding resistance and escape hopeless, sought resuge in death from the calamities of their condition (s).

To this principle of conscious equality and native dignity, must be imputed the contempt which they manifested for the inventions and improvements of civilized life. Of our fire-arms they soon learnt, by fatal experience, the superiority to their own weapons; and those therefore they valued; but our arts and manufactures they regarded as we regard the amusements and baubles of children:—hence the propensity to these, so common among other savage nations, was altogether unknown to the Charaibes.

THE ardour which has been noticed in them for military enterprize, had a powerful influence on their whole conduct. Engaged in continual warfare abroad, they feldom appeared chearful at home. Reflections on past miscarriage, or anxious schemes of future achievement, seemed to fill up many of their hours, and rendered them habitually thoughtful, pensive and

(s) Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Labat relates that the following fentiment was proverbial among the first French settlers in the Windward Islands:—" Regarder de travers un " Charaibe, c'est le battre, et que de le battre c'est le tuer, ou s' exposer à en être tuè." Labat, tom. ii. p. 74.

filent.

BOOK
I.

filent (t). Love itself, which exerts its influence in the frozen deferts of Iceland, maintained but a feeble dominion over the Charaibes (u). Their infensibility towards their women, although they allowed a plurality of wives (x), has been remarked by many writers; and it must have arisen from extrinsick causes;from the predominance of paffions ftrong enough to counteract the effects of a climate which powerfully disposes to voluptuousness, and awakens the inflincts of nature much fooner than colder regions. The prevailing bias of their minds was diftinguishable even in their persons. Though not fo tall as the generality of Europeans, their frame was robust and muscular; their limbs flexible and active, and there was a penetrating quickness, and a wildness in their eyes, that feemed an emanation from a fierce and martial fpirit (y). But, not fatisfied with the workmanship of nature, they called in the affistance of art, to make themselves more formidable.

⁽t) Du Tertre, tom. ii.

⁽u) Rochefort, c. xi.

⁽x) Ibid. c. xxii.

⁽y) Oviedo, lib. iii. This agrees likewife with the Chevalier Pinto's account of the Brasilians in note 42 to vol. i. of Dr. Robertson's History. "At the first aspect a Sou- thern American appears to be mild and innocent, but, on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance formething wild, distrustful and sullen."

They

They painted their faces and bodies with arnotto CHAP. fo extravagantly, that their natural complexion, which was nearly that of a Spanish olive, was not eafily to be diffinguished under the furface of crimfon (z). However, as this mode of painting themselves was practifed by both fexes, perhaps it was at first introduced as a defence against the venomous infects so common in tropical climates, or possibly they considered the brilliancy of the colour as highly ornamental; but the men had other methods of deforming their persons, which mere perversion of taste alone, would not, I think, have induced them to They disfigured their cheeks with deep incisions and hideous scars, which they stained with black, and they painted white and black circles round their eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage that divides the noftrils, and inserted the bone of some fish, a parrot's feather, or a fragment of tortoife-shell (a),—a frightful custom, practifed also by the natives of New Holland (b), and they strung together the teeth of fuch of their enemies as they had flain in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms, as trophies of fuccessful cruelty (c).

(2) Rochefort, lib. ii. c. ix. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 539.

(a) Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 391, 393.

(b) Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 171.

(c) Gumilla, tom. i. p. 193.

воок

To draw the bow with unerring skill, to wield the club with dexterity and strength, to swim with agility and boldness, to catch fish and to build a cottage, were acquirements of indispensible necessity, and the education of their children was well suited to the attainment of them. One method of making their boys skilful, even in infancy, in the exercise of the bow, was to sufpend their food on the branch of a tree, compelling the hardy urchins to pierce it with their arrows, before they could obtain permission to eat (d). But these were subordinate objects:—The Charaibes instructed their youth, at the same time, in lessons of patience and fortitude; they endeavoured to inspire them with courage in

(d) See Rochefort, c. xxviii. p. 555, and Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 283. Their arrows were commonly poisoned, except when they made their military excursions by night. On those occasions, they converted them into instruments of still greater mischief; for by arming the points with pledgets of cotton dipt into oil, and set on slame, they fired whole villages of their enemies at a distance *. The poison which they used, was a concoction of noxious gums and vegetable juices †, and had the property of being perfectly innocent when received into the stomach, but if communicated immediately to the blood, through the slightest wound, it was generally mortal. The Indians of Guiana still prepare a similar poison. It is supposed however, that sugar speedily administered in large quantities, is an antidote. (See Relation Abregèe d'un Voyage, &c. par Mons. de la Condamine; and Bancrost's Hist. of Guiana.)

^{*} Rochefort, ch. xx. p. 559.

[†] Oviedo, lib. iii.

war, and a contempt of danger and death;— chap. above all things, to inftil into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirst of revenge towards the Arrowauks. The means which they adopted for these purposes were in some respects superstitious; in others cruel and detestable.

As foon as a male child was brought into the world, he was fprinkled with fome drops of his father's blood. The ceremonies used on this occasion were fufficiently painful to the father, but he fubmitted without emotion or complaint; fondly believing, that the same degree of courage which he had himfelf displayed, was by these means transmitted to his fon (e). As the boy grew, he was foon made familiar with fcenes of barbarity; he partook of the horrid repafts of his nation, and he was frequently anointed with the fat of a flaughtered Arrowauk; but he was not allowed to participate in the toils of the warrior, and to share the glories of conquest, until his fortitude had been brought to the test. The dawn of manhood ushered in the hour of severe trial. He was now to exchange the name he had received in his infancy, for one more founding and fignificant; -a ceremony of high importance in the life of a Charaibe, but always

(e) Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxv. p. 552.

accompanied

BOOK accompanied by a scene of serocious festivity

and unnatural cruelty (f).

THE feverities inflicted on fuch occasions by the hands of fathers on their own children, exhibit a melancholy proof of the influence of fuperstition in suppressing the most powerful feelings of nature; but the practice was not without example. Plutarch records the prevalence of a fimilar custom among the Lacedemonians. " At Sparta," fays the Historian, " boys are " whipped for a whole day, oftentimes to death, " before the altar of Diana, and there is a won-" derful emulation among them who best can " fustain the greatest number of stripes." Nor did the Charaibe youth, yield in fortitude to the Spartan. If the feverities he fustained extorted the least symptom of weakness from the young fufferer, he was difgraced for ever; but if he rose fuperior to pain, and baffled the rage of his perfecutors, by perseverance and serenity, he received the highest applause. He was thenceforth numbered among the defenders of his country, and it was pronounced by his relations and countrymen, that he was now a man like one of themselves.

A PENANCE still more severe, and torments more excruciating; ftripes, burning and fuffo-

(f) Rochefort, liv. ii. c, xxiii. p. 556. Du Tertre, vol. ii. p. 377. cation.

cation, constituted a test for him who aspired to CHAP. the honour of leading forth his countrymen to war (g); for in times of peace the Charaibes admitted of no fupremacy but that of nature. Having no laws, they needed no magistrates. To their old men indeed they allowed fome kind of authority, but it was at best ill-defined, and must at all times have been insufficient to protect the weak against the strong.-In war, experience had taught them that fubordination was as requisite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in their general affemblies with great folemnity (h); but, as hath been observed, they put their pretenfions to the proof with circumflances of outrageous barbarity:-the recital however is difgufting, and may well be fuppreffed.

IF it appears strange that where so little was to be gained by preheminence, fo much should be endured to obtain it, it must be considered that, in the estimation of the candidate, the reward was doubtless more than adequate to the cost of the purchase. If success attended his measures, the feast and the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a fecond time;

VOL. I.

affuming

⁽g) Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xix. p. 519. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1262. Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 286. Lasitau, tom. i. p. 297, et feq.

⁽h) Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

BOOK affuming in future that of the most formidable Arrowauk that had fallen by his hand (i). He was permitted to appropriate to himfelf, as many of the captives as he thought fit, and his countrymen presented to his choice the most beautiful of their daughters in reward of his valour (k).

It was probably this last mentioned testimony of publick esteem and gratitude that gave rise in these Islands to the institution of polygamy, which, as hath been already observed, prevailed univerfally among them, and still prevails among the Charaibes of South America (1); -an institution the more excufable, as their women, from religious motives, carefully avoided the nuptial intercourse after pregnancy (m). I am sorry to add, that the condition of these poor creatures was at the same time truly wretched. Though frequently bestowed as the prize of fuccessful courage, the wife, thus honourably obtained, was foon confidered of as little value as the captive. Deficient in those qualities which alone were estimable among the Charaibes, the females were treated rather as flaves than companions. They fustained every species of

⁽i) Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

⁽k) Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 546.

⁽¹⁾ Bancroft, p. 254.

Du Tertre, tom. ii. (m) Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 548. P. 374. drudgery:

drudgery: they ground the maize, prepared the CHAP. caffavi, gathered in the cotton and wove the hamack (n); nor were they allowed even the privilege of eating in presence of their husbands (0): Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful that they were less prolifick than the women of Europe (p). But brutality towards their wives was not peculiar to the Charaibes. It has prevailed in all ages and countries among the uncivilized part of mankind; and the first visible proof that a people is emerging from favage manners, is a display of tenderness towards the female fex (q).

PERHAPS

⁽n) Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1272. Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

⁽o) Labat, tom. ii. p. 15 and 95. (p) Lafitau, tom. i. p. 590.

⁽q) Father Joseph Gumilla, in his account of the nations bordering on the Oronoko, relates (tom. i. p. 207. Fr. translation) that the Charaibes of the Continent punish their women caught in adultery, like the ancient Ifraelites, "by " ftoning them to death before an affembly of the people:" but I do not find this fact recorded by any other writer; and as it is evidently brought forward to support the author's hypothefis, that the Americans are originally descended from the Jews, I suspect that it is not well founded: -at least there is no trace that fuch a custom existed among the infular Charaibes. Rochefort, speaking of the latter, observes, that before they had any intercourse with the Christians they had no established punishment for adultery, because (says he) the crime itself was unknown."—He adds, that when this, with other European vices, was introduced among them, the injured husband became his own avenger.—Labat's reasoning E 2

DOOK I.

PERHAPS a more intimate knowledge (not now to be obtained) would have foftened many of the shades which thus darken the character of these islanders, and have discovered some latent properties in their principles and conduct, tending to leffen, though not wholly to remove, the difgust we naturally feel in beholding human nature so debased and degraded; but of many particulars wherein curiofity would defire to be gratified, we have no account. We know but little, for instance, concerning their domestick œconomy, their arts, manufactures, and agriculture; their fense of filial and paternal obligations; their religious rites and funeral ceremonies. Such further information however, in these and other respects, as authorities the least disputable afford, I have abridged in the following detached observations.

Besides the ornaments which we have noticed to have been worn by both fexes, the women, on arriving at the age of puberty, were diffin-

guished

on this head is too curious to be omitted: "Il n'y a que les "femmes qui soient obligées a l'obéissance, et dont les

[&]quot; hommes foient absolument les maitres. Ils portent cette

[&]quot; superiorité jusqu' à l'exces, et les tuent pour des sujets trés

[&]quot; legers. Un foupçon d'infidelité, bien ou mal fonde, suffit,

⁶⁶ sans autre formalité, pour les mettre en droit de leur casses 66 la tête. Cela est un peu sauvage à la verité; mais ce'st un

[&]quot;In tête. Gela est un peu saivage à la vertie, mais test un fein bien propre pour retenir les femmes dans leur devoir."

Tom. iv. p. 327.

guished also by a fort of buskin or half boot, made of cotton, which surrounded the small part of the leg (r). A distinction, however, to which such of their semales as had been taken in the chance of war, dared not aspire (s). In other respects both male and semale appeared as naked as our first parents before the fall (t). Like them, as they knew no guilt, they knew no shame; nor was clothing thought necessary to personal comfort, where the chill blast of winter is never felt.

THEIR hair was uniformly of a shining black, strait and coarse; but they dressed it with daily care, and adorned it with great art; the men, in particular, decorating their heads with seathers of various colours. As their hair thus constituted their chief pride, it was an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of their forrow, when, on the death of a relation or friend, they cut it short like their slaves and captives (u); to whom the privilege of wearing long hair was rigorously

(r) Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 446. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159. Labat, tom. ii. p. 12. The fame fort of brodequin, or buskin, is worn by the female Hottentots and other nations of Africa.

(s) Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 394.

(1) Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 441. Purchas, vol. iv. p.

(u) Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 439. Dn Tertre, tom. ii. p. 412.

E 3 denied,

BOOK denied (x). Like most other nations of the New Hemisphere, they eradicated, with great nicety, the incipient beard (y), and all superfluous hairs on their bodies;—a circumftance which has given rife to a notion that all the Aborigines of America were naturally beardless. This opinion is indeed countenanced by many respectable writers, but after much enquiry, and some instances of ocular inspection, I am satisfied that it is groundless.

THE circumstance the most remarkable concerning the persons of the Charaibes, was their strange practice of altering the natural configuration of the head. On the birth of a child, its tender and flexible skull was confined between two fmall pieces of wood, which, applied before and behind, and firmly bound together on each fide, elevated the forehead, and occasioned it, and the back part of the skull, to resemble two fides of a square (z); an uncouth and frightful cuftom still observed, by the miserable remnant of red Charaibes in the Island of St. Vincent (a).

THEY

⁽x) Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 405.

⁽y) Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 392.

⁽z) Oviedo, lib. iii. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix.

⁽a) I have been told by anatomists, that the coronal future of new-born children in the West Indies is commonly more open than that of infants born in colder climates, and the brain more liable to external injury. Perhaps, therefore,

THEY resided in villages which resembled an CHAP. European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, and drawn to a point at the top (b). They were then covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of fuperior magnitude to the reft. It was formed with great labour, and ferved as a publick hall or ftate house (c), wherein we are assured that the men (excluding the women) had their meals in common; "observing that law" (faith the Earl of Cumberland, who visited these Islands in 1596) "which in Lycurgus's mouth was thought " ftrange and needless (d)." These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation, and trained to martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators.

THEIR arts and manufactures, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity, which one would have fcarcely expected to find amongst a people fo little removed from a state of mere animal nature, as to reject all dress as superfluous. Co-

the Indian custom of depressing the os frontis and the occiput, was originally meant to affift the operation of nature in closing the skull.

(b) P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.

(c) Ibid. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xvi. Lasitau, tom. ii.

(d) Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159.

E 4

Iumbus

I.

BOOK lumbus observed an abundance of substantial cotton cloth in all the islands which he visited; and the natives possessed the art of staining it with various colours, though the Charaibes delighted chiefly in red (e). Of this cloth they made hammocks, or hanging beds, such as are now used at sea; - for Europe has not only copied the pattern, but preserved also the original name (f).

THEY possessed likewise the art of making veffels of clay for domestick uses, which they baked in kilns like the potters of Europe. The ruins of many of these kilns were visible not long fince in Barbadoes, where specimens of the manufacture are still frequently dug up; and Mr. Hughes, the historian of that island, observes, that they far furpass the earthern ware made by the negroes, in thinnefs, fmoothnefs and beauty (g). Befides those, they invented various other utenfils for economical purposes, which

⁽e) Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

⁽f) All the early Spanish and French writers expressly affert, that the original Indian name for their fwinging beds was amack, or hamack; - but Dr. Johnson derives the English word hammock from the Saxon.

⁽g) Nat. Hist. of Barbadoes, p. 8. Ligon, who visited this island in 1647, declares that some of these vessels, which he faw, even furpaffed any earthern-ware made in England both" (to use his own words) " in finesse of mettle, and " curiofity of turninge."

eto II.

are enumerated by Labat. The baskets which they composed of the fibres of the palmeto leaves, were fingularly elegant, and we are told that their bows and arrows, and other weapons, displayed a neatness and polish, which the most skilful European artist would have found it difficult to have excelled, even with European tools.

Or the nature and extent of their agriculture the accounts are flender and unfatisfactory. We are told, on good authority, that among the Charaibes of the Continent, there was no division of land, every one cultivating in proportion to his exigencies (h). Where no criminal jurisdiction is established, the idea of private property must necessarily be unknown or imperfect; and in these islands where land is scarce, it seems probable that, as among fome of the tribes of South America (i), cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each feparate community, and their harvests deposited in publick granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the publick flock.—Rochefort indeed observes, that all their interests were in common.

THEIR food, both vegetable and animal, excepting in the circumstance of their eating human flesh, seems to have been the same, in most re-

spects,

⁽h) Barrcroft, p. 254.

⁽i) Gumilla, tom. i. p. 265.

BOOK spects, as that of the natives of the larger islands, which shall be described hereafter. But although their appetites were voracious (k), they rejected many of the best bounties of nature. Of some animals they held the flesh in abhorrence; these were the pecary, or Mexican hog, the manati, or fea cow, and the turtle (1). Labat observes, that they fcrupled likewise to eat the eel, which the rivers in feveral of the islands supply in great plenty (m).

THE striking conformity of these, and some other of their prejudices and customs, to the practices of the Jews, has not escaped the notice of historians (n).—But whether the Charaibes were actuated by religious motives, in thus abstaining from those things which many nations account very wholesome and delicious food, we are no where fufficiently informed.

IT most probably was, however, the influence of fuperstition that gave rise to these and other ceremonies equally repugnant to the dictates of nature and common sense; - one of which appears at first extraordinary and incredible, but it is too well attested to be denied. On the birth of his

⁽k) Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 12, 70, 237. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 515.

⁽¹⁾ Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 16.

⁽m) Labat, tom. iv. p. 304. (n) Gumilla, Adair, Du Tertre, and others.

first fon the father retired to his bed, and fasted CHAP. with a strictness that often endangered life (o). Lasitau, observing that the same custom was practifed by the Tybarenians of Asia, and the Iberians or ancient inhabitants of Spain, and is still in use among the people of Japan, not only urges this circumftance as a proof, among others, that the new world was peopled from the old, but pretends to discover in it also some traces of the doctrine of original fin: he supposes that the severe penance thus voluntarily fubmitted to by the father, was at first instituted in the piousview of protecting his iffue from the contagion of hereditary guilt; averting the wrath of offended Omnipotence at the crime of our first parents, and expiating their guilt by his fufferings (p).

THE ancient Thracians, as we are informed by Herodotus, when a male child was brought into the world, lamented over him in fad vaticination of his deftiny, and they rejoiced when he was released by death from those miseries which they confidered as his inevitable portion in life: but, whatever might have been the motives that first

induced

⁽⁰⁾ Du Tertre, tom. ii. 371, 373. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 550. Labat, tom. iv. p. 368. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 49. Nieuhoff relates, that this practice prevails likewise among the natives of Brasil. Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 133.

⁽p) Lafitau, tom. i. p. 257.

BOOK induced the Charaibes to do penance on fuch occasions, it would feem that grief and dejection had no great share in them; for the ceremony of fasting was immediately succeeded by rejoicing and triumph, by drunkenness and debauchery. Their lamentations for the dead, feem to have arisen from the more laudable dictates of genuine nature; for, unlike the Thracians on these solemnities, they not only despoiled their hair, as we have before related, but when the master of the family died, the furviving relations, after burying the corpse in the centre of his own dwelling, with many demonstrations of unaffected grief, quitted the house altogether, and erected another in a diffant fituation (q).

UNFORTUNATELY, however, if now and then we diftinguish among them some faint traces of rational piety, our fatisfaction is of short continuance;

> No light, but rather darkness visible, Serves only to discover fights of woe:

or it is a light that glimmers for a moment, and then fets in blood.

IT is afferted, and I believe with truth, that the expectation of a future flate has prevailed

⁽q) Labat, tom. iv. p. 367. They placed the dead body in the grave in a fitting posture, with the knees to the chin. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 407. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 402. amongst

amongst all mankind, in all ages and countries CHAP. of the world. It is certain, that it prevailed among the Charaibes (r); who not only believed that death was not the final extinction of their being, but pleafed themselves also with the fond conceit that their departed relations were fecret spectators of their conduct;—that they still sympathized in their sufferings, and participated in their welfare. To these notions, so flattering to our wishes,-perhaps congenial to our nature,—they added others of a dreadful tendency; for, confidering the foul as fusceptible of the same impressions, and possessing the same passions, as when allied to the body, it was thought a religious duty to their deceased heroes, to facrifice at their funerals fome of the captives which had been taken in battle (s). Immortality feemed a curse without military glory: they allotted to the virtuous and the brave the enjoyment of supreme felicity, with their wives and their captives, in a fort of Mahometan paradife. To the degenerate and the cowardly they affigned a far different portion: these, they doomed to everlafting banishment beyond the mountains; -- to unremitting labour, in employ-

(r) Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 14. 485. Du Tertre, tom. ii. P. 372.

(5) Rochefort, c. xix. p. 484. Du Tertre, c. ii. p. 412. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1274.

ments

BOOK ments that diffrace manhood:—and this difgrace they supposed would be heightened by the greatest of all afflictions, captivity and servitude among the Arrowauks (t).

> IT might feem that this idea of a state of retribution after death necessarily flowed from a well-founded belief in the existence of an allwife and almighty Governor and Judge of the Universe; but we are told, notwithstanding, that the minds of the Charaibes were not elevated to this height. "They admitted," fays Rochefort, " that the earth was their bountiful parent, " which yielded them all the good things of life, " but they were fo lamentably funk in darkness " and brutality, as to have formed no conception " of its beneficent Creator, through the continual " energy of whose divine influence alone it yields any thing. They had not even a name for " the Diety (u)." Other writers, however, of equal authority (x), and even the fame writer elsewhere (y), present us with a different reprefentation in this respect, and allow that the Charaibes entertained an awful fense (perplexed indeed and indiffinct) of one great universal cause, - of a superior, wise, and invisible Being of

absolute

⁽t) Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 485.

⁽u) Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 459.

⁽x) Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 364.

⁽y) Rochefort, c. xiv.

absolute and irrefistible power (z).—Like the CHAP. ancient heathens, they admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities.—They even supposed, that each individual person had his peculiar protector or tutelary deity (a). Nor is it true, as affirmed by fome authors, that they had no notion of practical worship; for, besides the funeral ceremonies above-mentioned, which arose furely from a sense of mistaken piety, they had their lares and penates, gods of their own creating, intended as fymbols probably of their invisible deities, to whom they offered facrifices, fimilar to those of the ancient Romans in their days of fimplicity and virtue (b). It was their cuftom to erect in every cottage a ruffick altar, composed

(2) The Galibis Indians, or Charaibes of South America, from whom I have supposed the Insular Charaibes to have been immediately descended, stiled the Supreme Being Tamoussi, or Universal Father .- Barrere.

(a) Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 471.

(b) Mr. Hughes, in his History of Barbadoes, makes mention of many fragments of Indian idols dug up in that island, which were composed of the same materials as their earthen veffels above-mentioned.—" I faw the head of one" (continues he) "which alone weighed above fixty pounds. "This, before it was broken off, stood upon an oval pedestal 44 about three feet in height. The heads of all the others

were very fmall. These leffer idols were in all probability " their Penates, made small for the ease and conveniency of

66 being carried with them in their several journeys, as the 46 larger fort were perhaps defigned for some stated places of

" worship."-Natural History of Barbadoes, p. 7.

BOOK of banana leaves and rushes, whereon they occafionally placed the earliest of their fruits, and the choicest of their viands, as humble peace-offerings through the mediation of their inferior deities to incensed Omnipotence (c): for it is admitted, that their devotions confifted less in the effusions of thankfulness, than in deprecations of wrath;but herein neither were they diftinguishable from the rest of mankind, either in the old world or the new. We can all forget benefits though we implore mercy. Strange however it is, that the fame authors who accuse them of atheism should accuse them likewise, in the same moment, of polytheism and idolatry.

ATHEISTS they certainly were not; and although their fystem was not that of pure Theism, yet their idolatry was probably founded on circumstances, the moral influence of which has not hitherto, I think, been fufficiently noticed. If their devotion, as we have feen, was the offfpring, not of gratitude, but of fear;-if they were less sensible of the goodness, than terrified at the judgments of the Almighty; it should be remembered, that in the climate of the West Indies, the tremendous irregularities of nature are dreadfully frequent;—the hurricane that fweeps nations to the deep, and the earthquake that swal-

⁽c) Lafitau, tom. i. p. 179. Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 472. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 366. lows

lows continents in its bosom.—Let us not then CHAP. haftily affix the charge of impiety on these simple people, if, when they beheld the elements combine for their destruction, they considered the Divine Being as infinite indeed in power, but fevere in his juftice, and inexorable in his anger. Under this impression, the mind, humbled to the dust in the consciousness of its own imbecility, and scarce daring to lift up a thought to the Great Cause of all things, fondly wishes for fome mild and gracious interpreter; fome amiable intermediate agent in whom to repose with confidence, as in a guardian and a friend. defire encreasing, is at length exalted to belief. The foul, feeking refuge from its own apprehenfions, creates imaginary beings, by whose mediation it hopes to render itself less despicable in the fight of the Supreme. To these its devotions are intrusted, and its adorations paid. We may lament the blindness of these poor favages, and exult in our own fuperiority in this respect, but let us not forget, that in the most cultivated periods of the human understanding, (before the light of revelation was graciously displayed) a similar superstition was practifed by all the various nations of the heathen world; of which, not one perhaps had fo ftrong an apology to plead as the Charaibes.

VOL. I.

F

THESE

BOOK.

THESE observations, however, extend only to the fair fide of their religion, the worship of benevolent deities. A darker superstition likewise prevailed among all the unenlightened inhabitants of these climates; for they not only believed in the existence of demons and evil spirits, but offered to them also by the hands of their Boyez, or pretended magicians, facrifices and worship; wounding themselves, on such solemnities, with an instrument made of the teeth of the agouti (d); which inflicted horrible gashes; conceiving, perhaps, that the malignant powers delighted in groans and mifery, and were to be appealed only by human blood (e). I am of opinion, nevertheless, that even this latter species of idolatry originated in reverential piety, and an awful fense of almighty power and infinite perfection. we receive both good and evil at the hands of God, and that the Supreme Being is equally wife and benevolent in the dispensation of both, are truths which we are taught, as well by cultivated reason, as by holy writ; but they are truths, to the right apprehension of which uncivilized man was perhaps at all times incompetent. vage, indeed, amidst the destructive terrors of the

hurricane

⁽d) See Chap. 4.

⁽e) Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 365.

hurricane and the earthquake, might eafily con- CHAP. clude that nothing less than Omnipotence itself, visiting the nations in his wrath," could thus harrow up the world; but the calamities of daily occurrence,—the various appearances of physical and moral evil which hourly embitter

life, he dared not ascribe to an all-perfect and merciful Being. To his limited conception, fuch a conclusion was derogatory from divine justice, and irreconcileable with infinite wifdom. what then would he impute these terrifying and

inexplicable phenomena, but to the malignant influence of impure spirits and aereal demons? The profanations built on fuch notions certainly throw a light on the Christian religion, if they ferve not as a collateral evidence of its divine

origin.

A MINUTE detail of the rites and ceremonies to which thefe, and other religious tenets, gave birth among the Charaibes, most of them unamiable, many of them cruel, together with an illustration of their conformity to the superfitions of the Pagan theology, would lead me too far; nor is fuch a disquisition necessary. It is fufficient for me to have shewn, that the foundations of true religion, the belief of a Deity, and the expectation of a future state, (to borrow the expression of an eloquent prelate) " are no less F 2 " conformable

BOOK

" conformable to the first natural apprehensions
" of the untutored mind, than to the soundest

" principles of philosophy (e)."

I HAVE thus felected and combined, from a mass of discordant materials, a few striking particulars in the character, manners and customs of the ancient inhabitants of the Charaibean Islands. The picture is not pleasing; but, as I have elsewhere observed, it may lead to some important conclusions; for, besides correcting many wild and extravagant fancies which are afloat in the world respecting the influence of climate on the powers of the mind, it may tend to demonstrate the absurdity of that hypothesis of some eminent philosophers, which pronounces favage life the genuine fource of unpolluted happiness;falfely deeming it a flate conformable to our nature, and conftituting the perfection of it. It is indeed no easy task, as Rousseau observes, to discriminate properly between what is originally natural, and what is acquired, in the prefent constitution of man: yet thus much may be concluded, from the account I have given of the Charaibes; that they derived their furious and fanguinary disposition-not from the dictates of nature, but-from the perversion and abuse of fome of her noblest endowments. Civilization

(e) Bishop of Chester's Sermons.

and

and science would not only have given them CHAP. gentler manners, but probably have eradicated also many of their barbarous rites and gloomy fuperstitions, either by the introduction of a purer religion, or by giving energy and effect to those latent principles, which I have shewn had a foundation among them. But while I admit the necessity and benevolent efficacy of improved manners and focial intercourse; conceiving that man by the cultivation of his reason, and the exercise of his faculties, alone answers the end of his creation, I am far from concurring with another class of philosophers, who, widely differing from the former, confider a state of pure nature as a state of unrelenting ferocity and reciprocal hostility; maintaining, that all the foft and tender affections are not originally implanted in us, but are superinduced by education and reflection. A retrospect to what has been related of the Charaibes will shew the fallacy of this opinion. Man, as he comes from the hands of his Creator, is every where constituted a mild and a merciful being. It was by rigid discipline and barbarous example, that the Charaibe nation trained up their youth to fuffer with fortitude, and to inflict without pity the utmost exertions of human vengeance. The dictates of nature were as much violated by those enormities of favage life, as they are suppressed by the cold F 3 unfeeling

To the honour of humanity, it is as certain that compassion and kindness are among the earliest propensities of our nature, as that they constitute the chief ornament and the happiness of it. Of this truth our next researches will furnish a pleasing example.

CHAP. III.

Of the Natives of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico.— Their Origin.— Numbers.—Perfons.—Genius and Dispositions.—Government and Religion.—Miscellaneous Observations respecting their Arts, Manusactures and Agriculture, Cruelty of the Spaniards, &c.

I AM now to give fome account of a mild and comparatively cultivated people, the ancient natives of Hispaniola (a), Cuba (b), Jamaica, and

(a) Hispaniola was called by the natives Haiti or Ayti, which fignifies mountainous; and I conceive the same word has the same meaning in the islands of the south sea.

(b) Cuba was the Indian name. It was not discovered to be an island until the year 1508, when a captain, named Sebastian, failed round it by order of Nicholas Ovando. It was first planted by the Spaniards in 1511; in that year Jago Velasquez

and Porto-Rico (c); for there is no doubt that the inhabitants of all those Islands were of one common origin,—speaking the same language,—possessing the same institutions, and practising similar superstitions. Columbus himself treats of them as such; and the testimony of many contemporary historians confirm his opinion. It appears likewise from the information of Las Casas, the Bishop of Chiapa, to the Emperor Charles V. that most of the natives of Trinidad (d) were of the same nation; the extent and natural strength of that island, as of the others abovementioned, having protected them, in a great measure, from the depredations of the Charaibes,

1 HAVE elsewhere related that they were confidered by these Barbarians as descended from a Colony of Arrowauks, a people of Guiana; and

Velasquez went thither with 300 men, and settled on the south coast, near to a port which he called by his own name, (Jago, a name it still bears) and which for extent and security may be reckoned one of the finest in the world.

(c) The Indian name of Port-Rico was Boriquen. It was discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, but first explored by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1508.

(d) Trinidad was discovered by Columbus in his third voyage, and was named by him after the Holy Trinity, because, says Herrera, having been in great danger, in a violent storm, he made a vow to give that name to the first land he should find; soon after which a sailor, in the main-top, saw three points of land, whereby the name sitted every way to his vow.

F 4

there



BOOK there can be no good reason to suppose that the Charaibes were mifinformed in this particular.— The evidence of Raleigh, and others who visited both Guiana and Trinidad two centuries ago, might be adduced in support of their opinion. These voyagers pronounce the ancient inhabitants of Trinidad to belong precifely to the Arwacks or Arrowauk nation of the Continent; a race of Indians to whose noble qualities the most honourable testimony is borne by every traveller that has visited them, and recorded his observations. And here, all enquiry concerning the origin of our islanders feems to terminate. It is indeed extremely probable that all the various nations of this part of the new world, except only the Charaibes, emigrated anciently from the great hive of the Mexican empire. Juan de Grijalva, one of the adventurers from Cuba in 1518, found a people who fpoke the language of that island, on the coast of Jucatan (e); but at what period fuch emigrations were made; whether the Charaibes were previously possessed of the widely extended coast that bounds the Atlantick, or, in posterior ages, accidentally found their way thither by fea, from the ancient Continent-(perhaps by their invasion giving birth to that hereditary and unconquerable hatred, which still

(e) P. Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. x.

prevails

prevails between them and the other Indian CHAP. nations)—these are points concerning which, as it is impossible to determine, it is in vain to enquire.

In estimating the number of our islanders, when first discovered by Columbus, historians widely differ. Las Casas computes them at fix millions in the whole; but the natives of Hifpaniola were reckoned by Oviedo at one million only, and by Martyr, who wrote on the authority of Columbus, at 1,200,000, and this last account is probably the most correct. Judging of the other islands by that, and supposing the population of each to be nearly the fame in proportion to its extent, the whole number will fall greatly short of the computation of Las Casas. Perhaps if we fix on three millions, instead of fix, as the total, we shall approach as near the truth as possible, on a question that admits not of minute accuracy. Indeed fuch are the accounts of the horrible carnage of these poor people by the Spaniards, that we are naturally led to hope their original numbers must have been greatly exaggerated; first by the affociates of Columbus, from a fond and excufable propenfity to magnify the merit and importance of their discoveries, as undoubtedly they were afterwards by the worthy prelate I have quoted, in the warmth of his honest indignation at the bloody proceedings of his

BOOK his countrymen: with whom, indeed, every man of a humane and reflecting mind, must blush to confess himself of the same nature and species!

Bur, not to anticipate observations that will more properly appear hereafter, I shall now proceed to the confideration,-I. Of their persons and personal endowments: II. Their intellectual faculties and dispositions: III. Their political inftitutions: IV. Their religious rites. Such fubordinate particulars as are not eafily reducible to either of those heads, will conclude the prefent chapter.

Persons.

I. BOTH men and women wore nothing more than a flight covering of cotton cloth round the waift; but in the women it extended to the knees: the children of both fexes appeared entirely naked. In flature they were taller, but less robust than the Charaibes (f). Their colour was a clear brown; not deeper, in general, according to Columbus, than that of a Spanish peafant who has been much exposed to the wind and the fun (g). Like the Charaibes, they altered the natural configuration of the head in infancy; but after a different mode (h); and by

⁽f) Oviedo, Som.

⁽g) F. Col. c. xxiii.

⁽h) The finciput, or fore-part of the head from the eyebrows to the coronal future, was depressed, which gave an unnatural thickness and elevation to the occiput, or hinder part of the skull. this

this practice, fays Herrera, the crown was fo CHAP. strengthened that a Spanish broad-sword, instead of cleaving the skull at a stroke, would frequently break short upon it (i); an illustration which gives an admirable idea of the clemency of their conquerors! Their hair was uniformly black, without any tendency to curl; their features were hard and unfightly; the face broad, and the nose flat; but their eyes streamed with good nature, and altogether there was fomething pleafing and inviting in the countenances of most of them, which proclaimed a frank and gentle difposition. It was an honest face, (fays Martyr) coarse, but not gloomy; for it was enlivened by confidence, and foftened by compaffion.

Much has been fuggefted by modern philofophers, concerning a fupposed feebleness in their persons and constitutions. They are represented to have been incapable of the smallest degree of labour, incurably indolent, and infensible even to the attractions of beauty, and the influence of love (k). This wonderful debility and coldness have been attributed by fome writers to a vegetable diet: by others, it is pretended that they derived from nature less appetite for food than the natives of Europe; but nothing can more

pointedly

⁽i) Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi. who copies this circumstance from Oviedo.

⁽k) Robertson, Buffon, De Pauw, and others.

pointedly demonstrate the indolent inattention of historians, than their combining these circumstances in one and the same character. An infensibility, or contemptuous difregard, towards the female fex, was a feature peculiar to the Charaibes; who, however, as we have feen, were robust and vigorous in their persons, and insatiably voracious of food. It constituted no part of the disposition of our islanders; amongst whom an attachment to the fex was remarkably conspicuous. Love, with this happy people, was not a transient and youthful ardour only; but the fource of all their pleafures, and the chief bufiness of life: for not being, like the Charaibes, oppressed by the weight of perpetual solicitude, and tormented by an unquenchable thirst of revenge, they gave full indulgence to the inftincts of nature, while the influence of the climate heightened the sensibility of the passions (1).

In truth, an excessive sensuality was among the greatest defects in their character: and to this cause alone is imputed, by some writers, the origin of that dreadful disease, with

(1) See Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii. We have nearly the same account at this day of the Arrowauks of Guiana. " In their " natural disposition" (fays Bancrost) "they are amorous " and wanton;" and Barrere observes, " ils sont lubriques au " fupreme degré." It is related by Herrera, that a deity similar to the Venus of antiquity, was one of the Divinities of the Tlascalans, a people of Mexico.

the

the infliction of which they have almost revenged the calamities brought upon them by the avarice of Europe:—if indeed the venereal contagion was first introduced into Spain from these islands; a conclusion to which, notwithstanding all that has been written in support of it, an attentive enquirer will still hesitate to subscribe (m).

CHAP.

THAT

(m) "The venereal difease" (says Oviedo) "was cer-66 tainly introduced into Europe from these islands, where 66 the best medicine for the cure of it, the Guaiacum, is also " found; the Almighty fo remembering mercy in judgment * that, when our fins provoke punishment, he fends likewise " a remedy.-I was acquainted with many persons who ac-6 companied Columbus in his first and second voyages, and " fuffered of this disease: one of whom was Pedro Margarite, " a man much respected of the King and Queen. In the 4 year 1496 it began to spread in Europe, and the physicians " were wholly at a loss in what manner to treat it.-When, after this, Gonzales Fernandes de Cordova was fent with " an army by his Catholick Majesty on behalf of Ferdinand " the Second King of Naples, some infected persons accomand panied that army, and by intercourse with the women, 4 fpread the difease among the Italians and the French; 66 both which nations had fucceffively the honour of giving " it a name; but in truth it came originally from Hispaniola, " where it was very common, as was likewise the remedy."

This account is fufficiently particular; nevertheless there is reason to believe that the venereal infection was known in Europe many centuries before the discovery of America; although it is possible it might have broke out with renewed violence about the time of Columbus's return from his first expedition.—This was the era of wonder, and probably the infrequency of the contagion before that period, gave colour to a report, perhaps at first maliciously propagated by some

who

BOOK
I.

That a people who possessed the means of gratifying every inclination without labour, should sometimes incline to be indolent, is a circumstance not very extraordinary. As the wants of nature were supplied almost spontaneously, and no covering was absolutely requisite but the shade, that necessity which urges men to action, and, by exercise, invigorates the fibres, was here wholly unknown. It is probable therefore that in muscular strength the natives were inferior to their invaders, and being less accustomed to labour, they might also require less nourishment. These conclusions may be admitted without supposing any degradation of their nature, and

who envied the fuccess of Columbus, that this disease was one of the fraits of his celebrated enterprize. It is impossible, in the space of a marginal note, to enter deeply into this subject; neither does the full investigation of it come within the design of my work. I therefore refer fuch of my readers as are defirous of forming a decided opinion on the question, to the Philos. Transactions, vol. xxvii. and vol. xxxi. (No. 365 and No. 11) also to two learned treatises on the subject by Mr. Sanches, published at Paris 1772 and 1774, and to the authorities referred to by Mr. Foster in his "Observations made during a Voyage round the World," p. 492. (In Stow's Survey of London, vol. ii. p. 7. is preserved a copy of the rules or regulations established by Parliament in the eighth year of Henry the Second, for the government of the licensed stews in Southwark, among which I find the following, " No stewholder to keep any woman that hath the perilous infirmity of burning." This was 330 years before the voyage of Columbus.

with

III.

with no very unfavourable impression of the cli- CHAP. mate. Their limbs however were pliant and active, and in their motions they displayed both gracefulness and ease. Their agility was eminently conspicuous in their dances; wherein they delighted and excelled; devoting the cool hours of night to this employment (n). It was their custom, fays Herrera, to dance from evening to the dawn; and although fifty thousand men and women were frequently affembled together on these occasions, they seemed actuated by one common impulse, keeping time by responsive motions of their hands, feet, and bodies, with an exactness that was wonderful (0). These public dances (for they had others highly licentious) were appropriated to particular folemnities, and being accompanied with historical fongs, were called Arietoes; a fingular feature in their political inftitutions, of which I shall presently fpeak.

BESIDES the exercise of dancing, another diversion was prevalent among them which they called Bato; and it appears from the account given of it by the Spanish historians (p), that it had a diffant refemblance to the English game of cricket; for the players were divided into two

(n) P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii.

(o) Herrera, lib. ix. c. ii.

parties.

⁽p) Oviedo, lib. vi. c. ii. Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv.

BOOK parties, which alternately changed places, and the fport confifted in dexteroufly throwing and returning an elastick ball from one party to the other. It was not however caught in the hand, or returned with an inftrument; but received on the head, the elbow, or the foot, and the dexterity and force with which it was thence repelled, were aftonishing and inimitable.—Such exertions belong not to a people incurably enervated and flothful.

Intellects.

II. THEY are, nevertheless, pronounced by many writers, to have been naturally inferior to the natives of Europe, not only in bodily strength, but likewise in genius and mental endowments. This affertion has I think been advanced with more confidence than proof. That the mind, like the body, acquires strength by employment, is indeed a truth which we all acknowledge, because we all experience it; and it requires no great fagacity to discover, that ingenuity is seldom very powerfully exerted to gratify appetites which do not exift, or to guard against inconveniences which are not felt. If our iflanders therefore rose in some respects to a degree of refinement not often observable in savage life, it may justly be prefumed that in a state of society productive of new defires and artificial necessities, their capacities would have been susceptible of still further improvement. Their fituation alone, without recurring

fecurring to the various other causes assigned by CHAP. philosophers, fufficiently accounts for the paucity of their ideas. Men, without anxiety for the future, have little reflection on the past. What they wanted in excited energy of mind, was however abundantly supplied by the fofter affections a by fweetness of temper, and native goodness of disposition. All writers who have treated of their character, agree that they were unquestionably the most gentle and benevolent of the human race. Though not bleffed with the light of revelation, they practifed one of the noblest precepts of Christianity, forgiveness of their enemies: laying all that they poffeffed at the feet of their oppressors; courting their notice, and preventing their wishes, with such fondness and affiduity, as one would have thought might have difarmed habitual cruelty, and melted bigotry into tenderness (q).

Among other instances of their generous and compaffionate turn of mind, the following is not the least remarkable. Soon after Columbus's first arrival at Hispaniola, one of his ships was wrecked on the coaft. The natives, fcorning to derive advantage to themselves from the diffress of the strangers (unconscious indeed of the cala-

(9) Martyr. Herrera. F. Columbus, c. xxvii. xxxii. &c. &c.

VOL. I. G mities BOOK 1.

mities which their arrival was foon to bring upon them) beheld the accident with the livelieft emotions of forrow, and haftened to their relief. A thousand canoes were instantly in motion, busily employed in conveying the feamen and cargo ashore; by which timely affistance, not a life was loft; and of the goods and provisions that were faved from the wreck, not the fmallest article was embezzled. Such was their celerity and good will on this occasion, fays Martyr, that no friend for friend, or brother for brother, in diftrefs, could have manifested stronger tokens of fympathy and pity (r), Other historians still heighten the picture; for they relate that Guacanahari, the fovereign of that part of the country, perceiving that, notwithstanding the efforts of his people, the ship itself, and great part of the cargo were irrecoverably funk, waited on Columbus to condole with him on the occasion; and while this poor Indian lamented his misfortune in terms which excited furprize and admiration, he offered the Admiral (the tears flowing copioufly down his cheeks as he spoke) all that he himself possessed, in reparation of his loss (s).

This benevolence, unexampled in the history

⁽r) Martyr, Decad. i. lib. i.

⁽¹⁾ Fer. Col. c. xxxii. Herrera, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xviii.

CHAP.

of civilized nations, was foon basely requited by the conduct of a band of robbers, whom Columbus, unfortunately, left in the island, on his departure for Europe. Guacanahari however was covered with wounds in defending them from his injured countrymen (t); to whose just refentment the Spanish ruffians at length fell a facrifice; but their anger was of short duration. On Columbus's return, in his fecond voyage, their fondness revived; and for a considerable time the Spaniards lived among them in perfect fecurity, exploring the interior parts of the country, both in companies and individually, not only without molestation, but invited thereto by the natives. When any of the Spaniards came near to a village, the most ancient and venerable of the Indians, or the Cacique himself, if present, came out to meet them, and gently conducted them into their habitations, feated them on ftools of ebony curiously ornamented. These benches feem to have been feats of honour referved for their guests; -- for the Indians threw themselves on the ground, and kiffing the hands and feet of the Spaniards, offered them fruits and the choicest of their viands; entreating them to prolong their flay, with fuch folicitude and reverence as demonstrated that they considered them as beings of a fuperior nature, whose presence consecrated

(t) Herrera, Decad. i. lib. ii. c. ix. Fer. Col. c. xl.

G 2 their

BOOK their dwellings, and brought a bleffing with it (u).

THE reception which Bartholomew Columbus, who was appointed Lieutenant, or Deputy Governor, in the absence of the Admiral, afterwards met with, in his progress through the island to levy tributes from the feveral Caciques or Princes, manifested not only kindness and submission, but on many occasions munificence, and even a high degree of politeness. These Caciques had all heard of the wonderful eagerness of the strangers for gold; and fuch of them as poffeffed any of this precious metal, willingly presented all that they had to the Deputy Governor. Others, who had not the means of obtaining gold, brought provisions and cotton in great abundance (x).—Among the latter, was Behechio, a powerful Cacique, who invited the Lieutenant and his attendants to his dominions; and the entertainment which they received from this hospitable chief is thus described by Martyr. As they approached the king's dwelling, they were met by his wives, to the number of thirty,

carrying branches of the palmtree in their hands; who first faluted the Spaniards with a folemn

dance, accompanied with a general fong.

(x) P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

matrons

⁽u) Herrera, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xiv. F. Col. c. xxvii.

CHAP.

matrons were fucceeded by a train of virgins, diftinguished as such by their appearance; the former wearing aprons of cotton cloth, while the latter were arrayed only in the innocence of pure nature. Their hair was tied fimply with a fillet over their foreheads, or fuffered to flow gracefully on their shoulders and bosoms. Their limbs were finely proportioned, and their complexions, though brown, were fmooth, shining and lovely. The Spaniards were ftruck with admiration, believing that they beheld the dryads of the woods, and the nymphs of the fountains, realizing ancient fable. The branches which they bore in their hands, they now delivered with lowly obeifance to the Lieutenant, who, entering the palace, found a plentiful, and, according to the Indian mode of living, a fplendid repatt already provided. As night approached, the Spaniards were conducted to separate cottages, wherein each of them was accommodated with a cotton hammock; and the next morning they were again entertained with dancing and finging. This was followed by matches of wreftling, and running for prizes; after which two great bodies of armed Indians unexpectedly appeared, and a mock engagement enfued; exhibiting their modes of attack and defence in their wars with the Charaibes. For three days were the Spaniards thus G 3 royally

BOOK royally entertained, and on the fourth, the affectionate Indians regretted their departure.

Political institu-

III. THE fubmiffive and respectful deportment of these placid people towards their superiors, and those they considered as such, was derived probably, in some degree, from the nature of their government; which, contrary to that of the Charaibes under a fimilar climate, was monarchical and even absolute. The regal authority however, though not circumscribed by positive inftitutions, was tempered into great mildness, by that conftitutional benevolence which predominated throughout every part of their conduct, from the highest to the lowest. The sympathy which they manifested towards the distress of others, proves that they were not wretched themselves; for in a state of absolute flavery and misery, men are commonly devoid both of virtue and pity.

THEIR Kings, as we have feen, were called Caciques, and their power was hereditary:—But there were also subordinate Chieftains, or Princes, who were tributaries to the Sovereign of each district. Thus the territory in Hispaniola, anciently called Xaraguay, extending from the plain of Leogane to the Westermost part of the island, was the kingdom of the Cacique Behechio, whom I have mentioned above; but it appears from Martyr, that no less than thirty-two inferior

inferior chieftains or nobles had jurisdiction within that space of country, who were accountable to the supreme authority of Behechio (y). They seem to have somewhat resembled the ancient barons or seudatories of Europe; holding their possessions by the tenure of service. Oviedo relates, that they were under the obligation of personally attending the Sovereign, both in peace and war, whenever commanded so to do (z). It is to be lamented, that the Spanish historians afford very little information concerning this order of nobles, or the nature and extent of their subordinate jurisdiction.

THE whole island of Hispaniola was divided into five great kingdoms (a); of two of which, when Columbus first landed, Guacanahari and Behechio were absolute sovereigns.—A third principal Cacique was Cuanaboa, whose history is remarkable: He had been originally a War Captain among a body of Charaibes, who had invaded the dominions of Behechio, and, on condition of preventing the further incursions of his countrymen, had received his sister, the beautiful Anacoana, in marriage; together with an extent of country, which he had converted into a

CHAP.

(y) P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v. (z) Oviedo, lib. iii, c. iv, (a) Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv,

G 4

feparate

BOOK

feparate kingdom. The establishment of this leader and his followers in Hispaniola, had introduced into this part of the island the Charaibean language, and also the use of the bow and arrow (b); a weapon with the practice of which the natives of the larger iflands were generally unacquainted. Cuanaboa however still retained his ferocious disposition, and having been accused by Guacanahari before Christopher Columbus, of murdering some of the Spaniards, was ordered by that commander to be fent to Spain: but the ship perished at sea. The sad fate of his unfortunate widow, the innocent Anacoana, who was most atrociously murdered in 1505, by Ovando, the Governor of Hispaniola, for no cause, that I can discover, but her fond attachment to Bartholomew Columbus, having been related at large in the late American history, need not be repeated here.

THE islands of Cuba and Jamaica were divided, like Hispaniola, into many principalities or kingdoms; but we are told that the whole extent of Porto Rico was subject to one Cacique only (c). It has been remarked, that the dignity of these Chiestains was hereditary; but if Martyr is to be credited, the law of succession among them, was different from that of all other people;

⁽b) Oviedo, lib. iii, (c) P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ii.

for he observes (d), that the Caciques bequeath- CHAP. ed the supreme authority to the children of their fifters, according to feniority, difinheriting their own offspring; "being certain," adds Martyr, " that, by this policy, they preferred the blood " royal; which might not happen to be the case, " in advancing any of the children of their numerous wives." The relation of Oviedo is fomewhat different, and feems more probable: he remarks, that one of the wives of each Cacique was particularly diftinguished above the rest, and appears to have been confidered by the people at large as the reigning Queen (e); that the children of this lady, according to priority of birth, fucceeded to the father's honours; but, in default of iffue by the favourite Princess, the fifters of the Cacique, if there were no furviving brothers, took place of the Cacique's own children by his other wives. Thus Anacoana, on the death of Behechio her brother, became Queen of Xaraguay (f). It is obvious that this regulation was intended to prevent the mischiefs of a disputed succession, among children whose pretensions were equal.

THE principal Cacique was diftinguished by regal ornaments, and numerous attendants. In

(f) Herrera, lib. vi. c. ii.

travelling

⁽d) Decad. iii. c. ix. (e) Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

BOOK
I.

monly borne on men's shoulders, after a manner very much resembling the use of the palanqueen in the East Indies (g). According to Martyr (h), he was regarded by all his subjects with such reverence, as even exceeded the bounds of nature and reason; for if he ordered any of them to cast themselves headlong from a high rock, or to drown themselves in the sea, alledging no cause but his sovereign pleasure, he was obeyed without a murmur; opposition to the supreme authority, being considered, not only as unavailing, but impious.

Nor did their veneration terminate with the life of the Prince; it was extended to his memory after death; a proof that his authority, however extravagant, was feldom abused. When a Cacique died, his body was embowelled, and dried in an oven, moderately heated; so that the bones and even the skin were preserved entire (i). The corpse was then placed in a cave with those of his ancestors, this being (observes Oviedo) among these simple people the only system of heraldry; whereby they intended to render, not the name alone, but the persons also, of

⁽g) Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi.

⁽h) Martyr, Decad. i. c. i. (i) Herrera, lib. iii. c. iii. F. Columbus, c. lxi.

their worthies immortal. If a Cacique was flain CHAP. in battle, and the body could not be recovered, they composed fongs in his praise, which they taught their children; a better and nobler testimony furely, than heaps of dry bones or even monuments of marble; fince memorials to the deceased are, or ought to be, intended less in honour of the dead, than as incitements to the

THESE heroick effusions conflituted a branch of those solemnities, which, as hath been observed, were called Arietoes; confifting of hymns and publick dances, accompanied with musical instruments made of shells, and a fort of drum, the found of which was heard at a vast distance (1).

living (k).

(k) It is related by Martyr, that on the death of a Cacique, the most beloved of his wives was immolated at his funeral. Thus he observes that Anacaona, on the death of her brother King Behechio, ordered a very beautiful woman, whose name was Guanahata Benechina, to be buried alive in the cave where his body (after being dried as above mentioned) was deposited*. But Oviedo, though by no means partial towards the Indian character, denies that this custom was general among them†. Anacaona, who had been married to a Charaibe, probably adopted the practice from the account she had received from her husband of his national customs. And it is not impossible, under a female administration, - among fapages, but that the extraordinary beauty of the unfortunate wictim, contributed to her diffruction.

* Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. ix. † Oviedo, lib v. c. iii. (1) Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv. P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii. F. Columbus.

Thefe

92

BOOK

These hymns, reciting the great actions of the departed Cacique; his fame in war, and his gentleness in peace, formed a national history (m), which was at once a tribute of gratitude to the deceafed monarch, and a leffon to the living. Nor could any thing have been more instructive to the rifing generation than this institution, fince it comprehended also the antiquities of their country, and the traditions of their anceftors. Expressions of national triumph for victory in war, lamentations in times of publick calamity, the voice of festivity, and the language of love, were likewife the fubjects of these exhibitions; the dances, fo effential a part of them, being grave or gay as the occasion required. It is pretended that among the traditions thus publickly recited, there was one of a prophetick nature, denouncing ruin and defolation by the arrival of strangers compleatly clad, and armed with the lightning of heaven. The ceremonies which were observed when this awful prediction was repeated, we may well believe were ftrongly expressive of lamentation and horror (n).

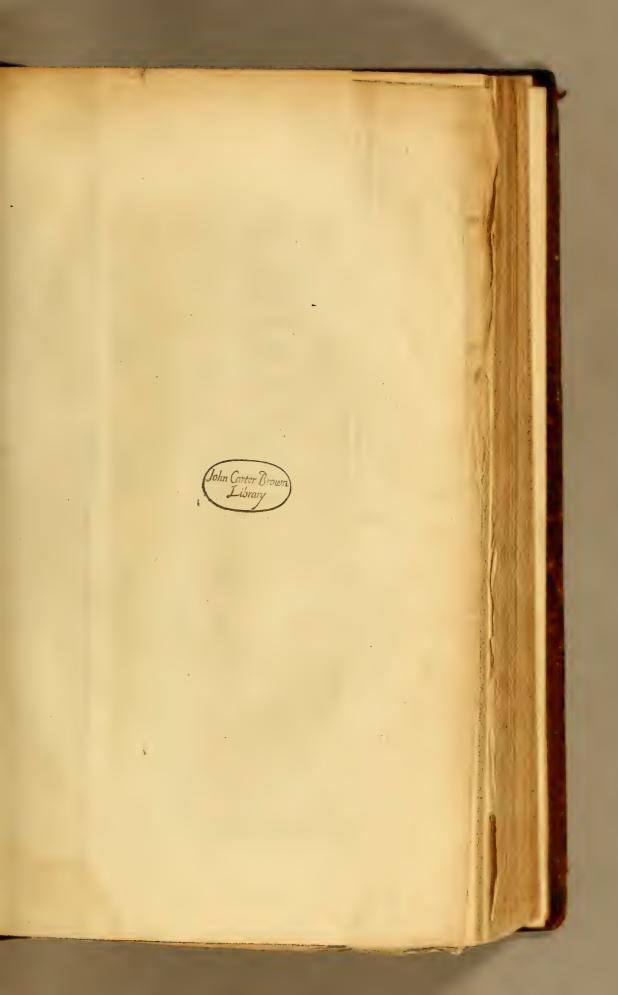
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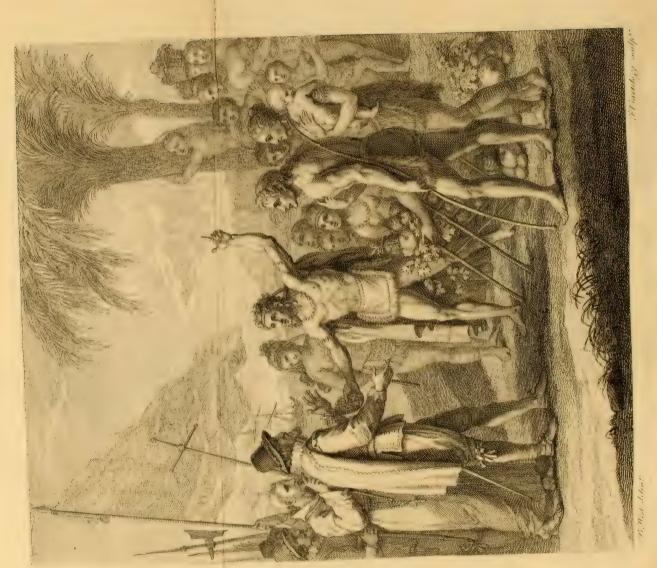
IV. LIKE all other unenlightened nations, these poor Indians were indeed the slaves of superstition. Their general theology (for they had an established system, and a priesthood to sup-

port

⁽m) Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

⁽n) Martyr, ut supra. Herrera, lib. ii. c. iv.





An EXBLAS CACTOTE of the ISLAND of CIBA, addressing Collinars

Palatet Vilaria att ve I la Mandelle

port it) was a medley of gross folly and childish CHAP. traditions, the progeny of ignorance and terror. Yet we are fometimes dazzled with a strong ray of funshine in the midst of furrounding darkness. Historians have preserved a remarkable fpeech of a venerable old man, a native of Cuba, who, approaching Christopher Columbus with great reverence, and presenting a basket of fruit, addressed him as follows. "Whether you are "divinities," (he observed) "or mortal men, we know not. You are come into these countries with a force, against which, were we " inclined to refift it, refiftance would be folly. "We are all therefore at your mercy; but if " you are men, subject to mortality like our-" felves, you cannot be unapprized, that after " this life there is another, wherein a very different " portion is allotted to good and bad men. If

THEIR

(o) This remarkable circumstance happened on the 7th of July 1494, and is attested by Pet. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii. and by Herrera, lib. ii. c. xiv. If it be asked how Columbus understood the Cacique, the answer is, that he had carried with him to Spain, in his former voyage, feveral of the Indians; one of whom, a native of Guanahani, who had remained with

" none to you (o)."

" therefore you expect to die, and believe with " us, that every one is to be rewarded in a " future state, according to his conduct in the " present, you will do no hurt to those, who do

94

BOOK I. THEIR notions of future happiness seem however to have been narrow and sensual. They supposed that the spirits of good men were conveyed to a pleasant valley, which they called Coyaba; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with delicious fruits, cool shades, and murmuring rivulets (p); in a country where drought never rages, and the hurricane is never felt. In this seat of bliss (the Elysium of antiquity) they believed that their greatest enjoyment would arise from the company of their departed ancestors, and of those persons who were dear to them in life (q);—a proof at least of their silial piety, and of the warmth and tenderness of their affections and dispositions.

THE consciousness in our Indians that they were accountable beings, seems to indicate a greater degree of improvement than we are willing to allow to any of the natives of the New Hemisphere. Although, like the Charaibes, our islanders acknowledged a plurality of Gods, like them too, they believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator; whom they named Jocahuna (r). But unhap-

with him from October 1492, had acquired the Spanish language. This man, whose name was *Didacus*, served him on this and other occasions, both as a guide and interpreter.

⁽p) Fer. Col. c. lxi. (q) Herrera, lib. iii. c. iii.

⁽r) Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ix. F. Columbus.

pily, with these important truths, these poor peo- CHAP. ple blended the most puerile and extravagant fancies, which were neither founded in rational piety, nor productive of moral obligation. They affigned to the supreme Being, a father and mother, whom they diffinguishedy by a variety of names, and they supposed the sun and moon to be the chief feats of their refidence (s). Their fystem of idolworship was, at the same time, more lamentable than even that of the Charaibes; for it would feem that they paid divine honours to flocks and stones converted into images, which they called Zemi; not regarding these idols as symbolical representations only of their subordinate divinities, and useful as sensible objects, to awaken the memory and animate devotion, but ascribing divinity to the material itself, and actually worshipping the rude stone or block which their own hands had fashioned. It may be observed, however, that an equal degree of folly prevailed among people much more enlightened. The Egyptians themselves, the most ancient of civilized nations, worshipped various kinds of animals, and representations of animals, some of them the most noxious in nature; and even the accomplished philosophers of Greece and Rome paid divine honours to men to whom they had

> (1) F. Columbus. P. Martyr. Benzoni. themselves

96

BOOK

themselves given an apotheosis.—So nearly allied, in religious researches, is the blindness of untutored nature, to the insufficiency of mere cultivated reason!

IT has indeed been afferted (whether justly or not) that "the fuperstitions of Paganism always wore the appearance of pleafure, and of-" ten of virtue (t);" but the theology of our poor islanders bore a different aspect. By a lamentable inconfiftency in the human mind, they confidered the Creator of all things as wholly regardless of the work of his hands; and as having transferred the government of the world to fubordinate and malignant beings, who delighted in converting into evil, that which HE pronounced to be good. The effusions of gratitude, the warmth of affection, the confidence of hope, formed no part of their devotions. Their idols were univerfally hideous and frightful, fometimes representing toads and other odious reptiles; but more frequently the human face horribly diftorted; -a proof that they confidered them, not as benevolent, but evil, powers ;-as objects of terror, -not of admiration and love.

To keep alive this facred and awful prejudice in the minds of the multitude, and heighten its influence, their *Bohitos* or Priests, appropriated a

(t) Gibbon-

confecrated

confecrated house in each village, wherein the Zemi CHAP. was invoked and worshipped. Nor was it permitted to the people at large, at all times, to enter, and on unimportant occasions approach the dread object of their adoration. The Bohitos undertook to be their meffengers and interpreters, and by the efficacy of their prayers to avert the dangers which they dreaded. The ceremonies exhibited on these solemnities, were well calculated to extend the prieftly dominion, and confirm the popular fubjection. In the fame view, the Bohitos added to their holy profession, the practice of physick, and they claimed likewise the privilege of educating the children of the first rank of people (u); — a combination of influence which, extending to the nearest and dearest concerns both of this life and the next, rendered their authority irrefiftible.

WITH such power in the priesthood, it may well be supposed, that the alliance between church and state, was not less intimate in these islands, than in the kingdoms of Europe. As in many other nations, religion was here made the instrument of civil despotism, and the will of the Cacique, if confirmed by the Priest, was impiously pronounced the decree of heaven. Columbus relates, that some of his people enter-

(u) Martyr. H

ing

Vol. I.

97

BOOK I.

ing unexpectedly into one of their houses of worship, found the Cacique employed in obtaining responses from the Zemi. By the sound of the voice which came from the idol, they knew that it was hollow, and dashing it to the ground to expose the imposture, they discovered a tube, which was before covered with leaves, that communicated from the back part of the image to an inner apartment, whence the Priest issued his precepts as through a speaking trumpet;—but the Cacique earnestly entreated them to say nothing of what they had seen; declaring that by means of such pious frauds, he collected tributes, and kept his kingdom in subjection.

The reader, I believe, will readily acquit me for declining to enter into any further detail of the various wild notions, and fantaftical rites which were founded on fuch arts and impoftures. Happily for our iflanders, however, the general fyftem of their fuperstition, though not amiable, was not cruel. We find among them but few of those barbarous ceremonies which filled the Mexican temples with pollution, and the spectators with horror. They were even more fortunate in this respect than the otherwise happy inhabitants of the lately discovered islands in the Southern Pacifick Ocean; amongst whom the practice of offering human facrifices to their deities, is still dreadfully prevalent, as

it anciently was amongst most of the nations of CHAP. the earth.

Mifcellafervations.

HAVING thus mentioned the natives of the South-Sea Islands, I cannot but advert to the neous obwonderful fimilarity observable in many respects, between our ill-fated West Indians and that placid people. The fame frank and affectionate temper, the fame chearful fimplicity, gentleness and candour; -a behaviour, devoid of meannefs and treachery, of cruelty and revenge, are appatent in the character of both; and although placed at fo great a diftance from each other, and divided by the intervention of the American Continent, we may trace a refemblance even in many of their cuftoms and inflitutions; their national fongs and dances, their domestick economy, their fystem of government, and their funeral ceremonies. I pretend not, however, to affirm that this refemblance is fo exact, as to create the prefumption of a common origin. The affinity perceivable in the dispositions and virtues of these widely separated tribes, arose probably from a fimilarity in their circumstances and fituation, operating on the general principles of human nature. Placed alike in a happy medium between favage life, properly fo called, and the refinements of polished fociety, they are found equally exempt from the fordid corporeal diftreffes and fanguinary paffions of the former state, H 2

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and from the artificial necessities, the restraints and solicitudes of the latter. To a speculative mind, such a situation may appear, for a moment, even superior to our own; "but if we admit" (says the elegant historian of the amiable Otaheiteans) "that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views (x)."

In those inventions and arts which, varying the enjoyments, add considerably to the value of life, I believe the Otaheiteans were in general somewhat behind our islanders: in agriculture they were particularly so (y). The great support

(x) Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 105.

(y) Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, vol. i. p. 332, observes, that as the natives of the New World had no tame animals, nor the use of the metals, their agriculture must necessarily have been impersect. It should however be remembered, that as every family raised corn for their own support, and the islands being (to use the expression of Las Casas) "abounding with inhabitants as an ant-hill with ants," a very small portion of ground allotted to the maintenance of each family, would comprehend in the aggregate an immense space of cultivated country. Thus we find Bartholomew Columbus observing, that the fields about Zabraba, a country in the Gulph of Darien, which he viewed in 1503, "were all covered with maize, like the corn fields of Europe, "for above six leagues together." Unacquainted with the soil

port of the infular territories of the South-Sea CHAP. confifts of the bread-fruit, and the plantain; both which flourish there spontaneously; and although the inhabitants have likewife plantations of yams and other esculent roots, yet the cultivation of none of them appears to be as extensive. as was that of the maize in the West Indies, or to display equal skill with the preparation of the caffavi-bread from the maniock (z). The West Indians.

of the West Indies, Dr. Robertson should have delivered his fentiments on this subject with diffidence. That soil which is known in these islands by the name of brick-mould, is not only fuperior to most others in fertility, but requires very little trouble in cultivation. Among our islanders, to whom the use of iron was unknown, instruments were ingeniously formed of stone, and of a certain species of durable wood, which were endued with nearly equal folidity and sharpness. We find them felling large trees, building canoes and houses, and forming domestick utenfils of exquisite workmanship. Possessing the tools and materials necessary for these purposes, they could not be destitute of proper implements for the ruder operations of husbandry, on a foil incapable of much refist-

(2) L'Abbe Raynal, in opposition to the testimony of all the early Spanish historians who have treated of the discovery and productions of America (none of whom indeed does he appear to have confulted) afferts that the maniock plant was originally introduced into the West Indies from Africa, and that the Indians were first instructed by the negroes in the art of converting the poisonous root into wholesome food. For the fatisfaction of fuch of my readers as are not intimately acquainted with the American History, I think it necessary to observe, that P. Martyr, in his first Decad, which bears date Novem-

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BOOK Indians, notwithstanding that they possessed almost every variety of vegetable nature which grew in the countries I have mentioned, the bread fruit excepted, raifed also both the maize and the maniock in great abundance; and they had acquired the skill of watering their lands from distant rivers, in time of drought (a). It may likewise be obferved, that although the Otaheiteans poffess the shrub which produces cotton, they neither improve it by culture, nor have the knowledge of converting its wool into cloth (b); but content themselves with a far meaner production as a fubstitute. Our islanders had not only the skill of making excellent cloth from their cotton, but they practifed also the art of dying it with a variety of colours; some of them of the utmost brilliancy and beauty (c).

In the science of ship-building (if the construction of fuch veffels as either people used, may be diftinguished with that appellation) the fuperi-

ber, 1493, feven months only after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, particularly mentions the maniock, or jucca, as furnishing great part of the food of the islanders, and he describes their manner of making the cassavi bread from it; observing that the raw juice is as strong a poison as aconite. Negroes were not imported into the islands till many years after this account was published.

- (a) Martyr, Decad. iii.
- (b) Forster's Observations.
- (c) Oviedo. Purchas, vol. iii. p. 985.

ority

ority is on the fide of Otaheite; yet the Pira- CHAP. guas of the West Indians were fully sufficient for the navigation they were employed in, and indeed were by no means contemptible feaboats. We are told that some of these vessels were navigated with forty oars (d); and Herrera relates, that Bartholomow Columbus, in paffing through the Gulph of Honduras, fell in with one that was eight feet in breadth, and in length equal to a Spanish galley. Over the middle was an awning, composed of mats and palm-tree leaves; underneath which were disposed the women and children, fecured both from rain and the spray of the fea.—It was laden with commodities from Jucatan (e).

On the other hand, our islanders far surpassed the people of Otaheite, in the elegance and variety of their domestick utenfils and furniture; their earthenware, curioufly woven beds, and implements of husbandry. Martyr speaks with admiration of the workmanship of some of the former of these. In the account he gives of a magnificient donation from Anacoana to Bartho-

(d) Martyr, Decad. i.

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lomew

⁽e) Herrera, Decad. i. lib. v. These vessels were built either of cedar, or the great cotton-tree hollowed, and made square at each end like punts. Their gunnels were raifed with canes braced close, and smeared over with some bituminous substance to render them water-tight, and they had sharp keels, P. Martyr, Decad.

BOOK lomew Columbus, on his first visit to that Princefs, he observes that, among other valuables, the prefented him with fourteen chairs of ebony beautifully wrought, and no less than fixty veffels of different forts, for the use of his kitchen and table, all of which were ornamented with figures of various kinds, fantaftick forms, and accurate representations of living animals (f). The induftry and ingenuity of our Indians therefore must have greatly exceeded the measure of their wants. Having provided for the necessities of their condition, they proceeded to improve and adorn it.

But I must now leave them to the miserable fate in which it pleased infinite, but inscrutable, wisdom to permit their merciless invaders to involve them for ever!—It may, I think, be fafely affirmed, that the whole story of mankind affords no scene of barbarity equal to that of the cruelties exercifed on these innocent and inoffenfive people. All the murders and defolations of the most pitiless tyrants that ever diverted themfelves with the pangs and convulfions of their fellowcreatures, fall infinitely fhort of the bloody enormities committed by the Spanish nation in the conquest of the New World ;-a conquest, on a low estimate, effected by the murder of ten millions of the species! But although the ac-

(f) P. Martyr, Decad. i.

counts

counts which are transmitted down to us of this CHAP. dreadful carnage, are authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute, the mind, shrinking from the contemplation, wishes to refift conviction, and to relieve itself by incredulity. - Such at least is the apology which I would frame for the author of the American History, when I find him attempting, in contradiction to the voice and feelings of all mankind, to palliate fuch horrible wickedness (g). Yet the same author admits. that in the short interval of fifteen years subsequent to the discovery of the West Indies, the Spaniards had reduced the natives of Hispaniola "from a million to fixty thousand (h)." It is in vain that he remarks on the bodily feebleness of these poor Indians, and their natural incapacity for labour. Such a constitutional defect, if it existed, entitled them to greater

(g) Introduction to the History of America, by Dr. Robertson, vol. i. p. 10. " It is to be hoped" (fays this author) that the Spaniards will at last discover this system of conceal-" ment to be no less impolitick than illiberal. From what " I have experienced in the course of my enquiries, I am " fatisfied, that upon a more minute fcrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however REPREHENSIBLE" (a tender expression) "the actions of individuals may appear, 66 the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favour-66 ble light." This opinion, however, needs no other refutation than that which is to be found in the subsequent pages of the learned Author's History.

(h) History of America, vol. i. book iii. p. 185.

lenity;

BOOK lenity; but the Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, without rest or intermission, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their fufferings, Such as attempted refistance or escape, their merciless tyrants hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their flesh. They disregarded sex and age, and with impious and frantick bigotry even called in religion to fanctify their cruelties! Some, more zealous than the reft, forced their miserable captives into the water, and after administering to them the rite of baptism, cut their throats the next moment, to prevent their apoftacy! Others made a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles! Nor were these the excesses only of a blind and remorfeless fanaticism, which exciting our abhorrence, excites also our pity: The Spaniards were actuated in many inflances by fuch wantonness of malice, as is wholly unexampled in the wide history of human depravity. -Martyr relates, that it was a frequent practice among them to murder the Indians of Hispaniola in sport, or merely, he observes, to keep their hands in use. They had an emulation which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow; and wagers frequently depended on this hellish exercise (i). To fill up

(i) P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. vii.

the measure of this iniquity, and demonstrate to CHAP. the world, that the nation at large participated in the guilt of individuals, the Court of Spain not only neglected to punish these enormities in its subjects, but when rapacity and avarice had nearly defeated their own purposes, by the utter extirpation of the natives of Hispaniola, the King gave permission to seize on the unsuspecting inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, and transport them to perish in the mines of St. Domingo.

" Several vessels" (fays Dr. Robertson) "were

fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of " which informed the natives, with whofe language

se they were now well acquainted, that they came

" from a delicious country, in which their depart-

ed ancestors resided, by whom they were sent to

invite them to refort thither, to partake of the

" blis which they enjoyed. That simple peo-

" ple liftened with wonder and credulity, and

56 fond of vifiting their relations and friends in

" that happy region, followed the Spaniards with

eagerness. By this artifice, above 40,000 were

" decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the suf-

se ferings which were the lot of the inhabitants

" of that island, and to mingle their groans and

se tears with those of that wretched race of

men (k)." After reading these accounts,

(k) History of America, book iii. p. 186. See likewise P. Martyr, Decad. vii. This author relates the following affecting

BOOK who can help forming an indignant wish that the hand of Heaven, by some miraculous interpo-

affecting particulars of the poor Lucayans thus fraudulently decoyed from their native countries. " Many of them in "the anguish of despair, obstinately refuse all manner of " fustenance, and retiring to defert caves and unfrequented " woods, filently give up the ghoft. Others, repairing to the " fea-coast on the northern side of Hispaniola, cast many a " longing look towards that part of the ocean where they "fuppose their own issands to be situated; and as the sea-" breeze rifes, they eagerly inhale it; fondly believing, that it " has lately vifited their own happy vallies, and comes fraught " with the breath of those they love, their wives and " their children. With this idea, they continue for hours " on the coast, until nature becomes utterly exhausted; " when stretching out their arms towards the ocean, as if " to take a last embrace of their distant country and relations, "they fink down, and expire without a groan."-" One of " the Lucayans" (continues the fame author) " who was " more defirous of life, or had greater courage than most of " his countrymen, took upon him a bold and difficult piece " of work. Having been used to build cottages in his native " country, he procured instruments of stone, and cut down " a large spongy tree called jaruma*, the body of which he " dexteroufly scooped into a canoe. He then provided " himself with oars, some Indian corn, and a few gourds of water, and prevailed on another man and a woman to em-" bark with him on a voyage to the Lucayos Islands. "Their navigation was prosperous for near 200 miles, and "they were almost within fight of their own long-lost shores, when unfortunately they were met by a Spanish ship, " which brought them back to slavery and forrow. The " canoe is still preserved in Hispaniola as a singular curio-" fity, confidering the circumstances under which it was " made."

fition,

^{*} The bombax, or wild cotton tree.

fition, had fwept these European tyrants from the CHAP. face of the earth, who, like so many beasts of prey, roamed round the world only to defolate and deftroy; and, more remorfeless than the fiercest savage, thirsted for human blood, without having the impulse of natural appetite to plead in their defence!

On the whole, if we confider of how little benefit the acquifition of these islands has since proved to the Spanish nation, and count over the cost of the conquest, we must find it extremely difficult to include fuch an event as the massacre of ten millions of innocent people (comprehending the butcheries in Mexico and Peru) amongst the number of those partial evils which ultimately terminate in general good: Nor can we possibly reconcile its permission to our limited ideas of infinite wisdom and goodness! Divines therefore justly conclude, that no stronger proof than that which arises from hence need be given of the existence of a future and better state, wherein the unequal distribution of misery and happiness in this life shall be adjusted; " when the crooked shall " be made straight, and the rough places plain (1)!"

(1) In 1585 Sir Francis Drake made a descent on Hispaniola, and in his account of that island, which is preserved in Hakluyt, vol. iii. he relates that the Spaniards, having utterly exterminated the ancient Indians, (not a fingle defcendant being, I doubt, at that time living) had nevertheless derived

B O O K

derived so little advantage from their cruelty, as to be obliged to convert pieces of leather into money;—all the silver, in the attainment of which from the bowels of the earth so many thousands of poor wretches had perished, having long since found its way to Europe, and the inhabitants had no means of getting a fresh supply.

It may be proper in this place to observe, that some of the circumstances which I have related above, respecting the cruelties of the Spaniards, are extracted from the writings of Bartholomew De Las Cafas, who is accused by Dr. Robertfon of exaggeration; -but Oviedo himfelf, who endeavours to palliate the monftrous barbarities of his countrymen towards the natives; by afferting that they were addicted to unnatural vices, which rendered them properly obnoxious to punishment (a charge, by the way, which Herrera admits to be groundless) - Oviedo, I say, confesses that in 1535, only forty-three years posterior to the discovery of Hispaniola; and when he was himself on the spot, there were not left alive in that island above five hundred of the original natives, old and young; for he adds, that all the other Indians at that time there, had been forced or decoyed into flavery, from the neighbouring islands*. Las Casas, it is true, when he speaks of numbers in the grofs, certainly over-rates the original inhabitants. But it does not appear that he meant to deceive; nor is there any just reason to suspect his veracity when he treats of matters fusceptive of precision; more especially in circumstances of which he declares himself to have been an eyewitness. Let the reader judge of Las Casas from the following narrative, in which his falfhood (if the flory were falfe) could have been very eafily detected. "I once beheld" (fays he) "four or five principal Indians roasted alive at a " flow fire; and as the miserable victims poured forth dread-" ful fcreams, which diffurbed the commanding officer in " his afternoon flumbers, he fent word that they should be " strangled; but the officer on guard (I KNOW HIS NAME, 44 AND I KNOW HIS RELATIONS IN SEVILLE) would not

* Oviedo, lib. iii. c. vi.

66 fuffer

WEST INDIES.

111

fuffer it; but causing their mouths to be gagged, that their cries might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his

" own hands, and roafted them deliberately till they all ex-

" pired .- I saw it myself."!!!

It may be necessary perhaps, on my own account, to add, that I have no other edition of Las Casas, than that which was published at Antwerp, in 1579. From a copy of that edition I have extracted the foregoing horrid relation; my hand trembling as I write, and my heart devoutly wishing it could be proved to be false.

CHAP.

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B O O K

CHAP. IV.

Land animals used as food.—Fishes and wild fowe.

Indian method of fishing and fowling.—Esculent vegetables, &c.—Conclusion.

In tracing the feveral tribes of quadrupeds, properly fo called, which anciently existed in the West Indies, it will be found that the Windward or Charaibean islands, possessed all that were possessed by the larger islands, and some species which in the latter were unknown. It is likewise observable, that all the animals of the former are still found in Guiana, and sew or none of them in North America: These are additional proofs that the Windward Islands were anciently peopled from the South. The enumeration of them, follows:

1. The Agouti; 2. the Pecary; 3. the Armadillo; 4. the Opussum; 5. the Racoon; 6. the Musk Rat; 7. the Alco; 8. the smaller Monkey of several varieties.

THESE

THESE I think are their most general appella- CHAP. tions; but, from the variety of Indian languages, or dialects rather of the fame language, which anciently prevailed in the Islands and on the neighbouring Continent, some of these animals have been diffinguished by so many different names, that, in reading the accounts of them transmitted by the French and Spanish historians, it is often difficult to understand of which in particular they mean to fpeak.

THE Agouti is fometimes called couti, and coati. It was corrupted into uti and utia, by the Spaniards; and at present it is known in some parts of the West Indies by the terms pucarara and Indian coney. It is the mus aguti of Linnæus, and the cavy of Pennant and Buffon.

To these writers it is sufficient to refer, for a description of its nature and properties .- I shall briefly observe that, in comparing it with the quadrupeds of Europe, it seems to constitute an intermediate species between the rabbit and the rat; and of the animals which I have enumerated above, this and the last are, I fear, the only ones that have escaped the common fate of all the nobler inhabitants of these unfortunate islands, man himself (as we have seen) not excepted! The agouti is still frequently found in Porto-Rico, Cuba and Hispaniola, and sometimes in the mountains of Jamaica. In most of

VOL. I. the воок

the islands to Windward, the race, though once common to them all, is now I believe utterly extinct.

THE Pecary, which was not known in the larger Islands, has been honoured with no less variety of names than the Agouti. According to Rochefort it was also called *javari* and *pacquirè*. By Dampier it is named *pelas*. By Acosta *saino* and *zaino*. It is the *fus tajacu* of Linnæus, and the *pecary* and *Mexican-musk* hog of our English naturalists.

OF this animal, a very full and particular account has been given by Monf. Buffon in his Natural History, and by Dr. Tyson in the Philosophical Transactions. I have heard that it still abounds in many of the provinces of Mexico; but in the West Indian islands I believe the breed has been long fince exterminated. Those that I have seen were carried thither from the Continent as objects of curiofity; and they appeared to me to differ from the European hog principally in the fingular but well-known circumstance of their having a musky discharge from an aperture or gland on the back, erroneoufly supposed to be the navel; and in the colour of their briftles; the pecary being indeed highly ornamented; for the briftles of those that I beheld, were of pale blue, tipt with white. It is also related of this animal, that it possesses

far greater courage that the hog of Europe; and CHAP. when hunted by dogs, will frequently turn and compel its enemy to retreat. Thus its native bravery bringing it within the reach of fire-arms, contributed doubtless to its final destruction in the Islands.

OF the Armadillo, the species anciently known in these islands was I think that which is called by fystematical writers the nine banded. It is covered with a jointed shell, or scaly armour, and has the faculty of rolling itself up, like the hedge-hog. As food it is faid to be very wholefome and delicate. It was once found in all parts of the West Indies.

THE Opussium (or manitou) is distinguishable from all other animals, by a wonderful property. Under the belly of the female there is a pouch, wherein she receives and shelters her young* .--Both this and the former animal are too well known to the curious in natural refearches, to render it necessary for me to be more particular. I believe the opuffum, like the pecary, was unknown to the larger Islands.

THE Racoon was common in Jamaica in the time of Sloane, who observes that it was eaten by all forts of people. Its abode was chiefly in hollow trees, from whence, fays Sloane, it makes paths to the cane-fields, where it chiefly fubfifts;

* I have fince learnt that the female Kangaroo from New Holland, is provided in the fame manner.

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BOOK a circumstance which, while it indicates that its number was considerable, easily accounts for its destruction.

THE Musk Rat is the piloris of naturalists: it burrows in the earth, and smells so strongly of musk, that its retreat is easily discovered. According to the French writers, these abounded anciently in Martinico and the other Windward Islands to a great degree (m); and its resemblance to the common rat of Europe, though four times as large, probably proved statal to the whole race. I am sometimes inclined to suspect that this animal is the agout of the larger Islands.

The Alco was the native dog of the New Hemisphere, nor does it seem to have differed greatly from that of the Old; except that it possessed not the power of barking (n). The natives of Hispaniola, like those of Otaheite, fattened them with care, and accounted their slesh a great delicacy. "In St. Domingo" (says Acosta) "the dogs of Europe have multiplied so exceedingly, that at this time (1587) they are a nuisance and a terror to the inhabitants, and a price is set on their heads as on wolves in Old Spain. At first there were no dogs in this island, but a small mute creature resembling a dog, with a nose like that of a fox;

(m) P. Labat, tom. ii. p. 302. (n) F. Col. c. xxiv.

" which

which the natives called alco. The Indians CHAP.

" were fo fond of these little animals, that they

" carried them on their shoulders wherever they

" went, or nourished them in their bosoms."

THE Monkey and its varieties require no description.

THUS it appears that out of eight different fpecies of edible quadrupeds, one only was domestick and sequacious. Few indeed are the animals that own allegiance to man in his favage state. Of the beafts of the forest, the strongest dispute his superiority and the weakest avoid his approach. To his conveniency therefore they contribute nothing, and towards his nourishment, the fupplies that they afford are casual and uncertain. Nature however feems to have displayed towards the inhabitants of these islands, a bounty that almost rendered superfluous the labours of art in procuring them fustenance; for, besides the animals that I have mentioned, and those that are furnished by the rivers and the sea, the woods were peopled with two very extraordinary creatures; both of which anciently were, and still are, not only used as food, but accounted fuperior delicacies.

THESE are the Iguana and the Mountain-crab. The Iguana (or, as it is more commonly written, the guana) is a species of Lizard:—a class of animals, about which naturalists are not agreed whether to

IV.

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118

B O O K

rank them with quadrupeds, or to degrade them to ferpents.—They feem therefore to ftand aloof from all established systems, and indeed justly claim a very diftinguished place by themselves. From the alligator, the most formidable of the family, measuring fometimes twenty feet in length, the gradation is regular in diminution of fize to the fmall lizard of three inches; the fame figure and conformation nearly (though not wholly) prevailing in each. The iguana is one of the intermediate species, and is commonly about three feet long, and proportionably bulky, It lives chiefly among fruit trees, and is perfectly gentle and innoxious. Europeans doubtless learnt to make food of them from the example of the ancient Indians, amongst whom the practice of hunting them was a favourite diversion (0); and they are now become generally fcarce, except in the islands of the Windward-passage, and fuch other places between the tropicks as are feldom vifited by man. I believe indeed the English, even when they were more plentiful, did not often ferve them at elegant tables; but their French and Spanish neighbours, less squeamish, still devour them with exquisite relish: I imagine too they have good reason; for I have been affured by a lady of great beauty and

(o) F. Col. c. xxv.

elegance,

elegance, who spoke from experience, that the CHAP. Iguana is equal in flavour and wholesomeness to the finest green turtle (p).

RESPECTING the Mountain Crab, which still survives in the larger of these Islands, though its final extinction is probably at hand, its history

(p) P. Labat likewise speaks of a fricasseed guana with high approbation. He compares it to chicken, for the whiteness of its flesh and the delicacy of its flavour.—Tom. iii. p. 315. In a subsequent page, he gives a minute account of the manner of catching this animal, and if the reader has no objection to accompany the good Father a là chasse, he may participate in the diversion as follows: " We were attended" (fays he) "by a negro, who carried a long rod; at one end of which was a piece of whipcord with a running knot. " After beating the bushes for some time, the negro dif-" covered our game balking in the fun on the dry limb of " a tree. Hereupon he began whistling with all his might, 66 to which the guana was wonderfully attentive, firetching " out his neck and turning his head, as if to enjoy it more " fully. The negro now approached, still whistling, and " advancing his rod gently, began tickling with the end of " it the fides and throat of the guana, who feemed mightily " pleased with the operation; for he turned on his back, " and stretched himself out like a cat before a fire, and " at length fairly fell asleep; which the negro perceiving, " dexteroufly flipt the noofe over his head, and with a jerk " brought him to the ground; and good fport it afforded, " to fee the creature fwell like a turkey cock, at finding him-" felf entrapped. We caught others in the same way, and " kept one of them alive feven or eight days; but" (continues the reverend historian) "it grieved me to the heart to " find that he thereby loft much delicious fat." These animals are likewise known in the East Indies. Sir Joseph Banks fhot one of them at Batavia, and found it good food.

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BOOK is so wonderful, that I choose rather to give it in the language of others, than in any recital of my own. The authors from whom I transcribe, are Du Tertre and Brown. They both wrote from their own knowledge and perfonal observation, and the facts which they relate have been repeated to me a thousand times in the West Indies, by persons, who I am sure never knew what has been published on the fubject by any author whatever. "These ani-" mals" (fays Du Tertre) " live not only in a " kind of orderly fociety in their retreats in the " mountains, but regularly once a year march " down to the fea-fide in a body of fome mil-" lions at a time. As they multiply in great " numbers, they chuse the months of April or " May to begin their expedition; and then " fally out from the flumps of hollow trees, " from the clefts of rocks, and from the holes " which they dig for themselves under the fur-" face of the earth. At that time the whole " ground is covered with this band of adven-" turers; there is no fetting down one's foot " without treading upon them. The fea is " their place of destination, and to that they " direct their march with right-lined precision. " No geometrician could fend them to their destined station by a shorter course; they se neither

" neither turn to the right nor to the left what- CHAP.

« ever obstacles intervene; and even if they " meet with a house, they will attempt to " fcale the walls to keep the unbroken tenor of " their way. But though this be the general " order of their route, they, upon other occasions, " are compelled to conform to the face of the " country, and if it be intersected by rivers, " they are feen to wind along the course of the " ftream. The procession sets forward from " the mountains with the regularity of an army " under the guidance of an experienced com-" mander. They are commonly divided into " battalions, of which the first consists of the " ftrongest and boldest males, that, like pioneers, " march forward to clear the route and face "the greatest dangers. The night is their " chief time of proceeding, but if it rains by " day they do not fail to profit by the occasion. " and they continue to move forward in their flow " uniform manner. When the fun shines and is " hot upon the furface of the ground, they make " an universal halt, and wait till the cool of the " evening. When they are terrified, they march " back in a confused disorderly manner, holding " up their nippers, with which they fometimes " tear off a piece of the skin, and leave the " weapon where they inflicted the wound." 66 WHEN, after a fatiguing march, and escap-

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122

EOOK I. "ing a thousand dangers, for they are sometimes three months in getting to the shore, they have arrived at their destined port, they prepare to cast their spawn. For this purpose the crab has no sooner reached the shore, than it eagerly goes to the edge of the water, and lets the waves wash over its body two or three times to wash off the spawn. The eggs are hatched under the sand soon after, millions at a time of the new-born crabs, are seen quitting the shore, and slowly travelling up to the mountains."

So far Du Tertre, as copied by Goldsmith. What follows, is from Brown's History of Jamaica, "The old crabs having difburthened " themselves" (as above) " generally regain their " habitations in the mountains by the latter end " of June.-In August they begin to fatten, and " prepare for moulting; filling up their burrows " with dry grafs, leaves, and abundance of other " materials.-When the proper period comes, " each retires to his hole, shuts up the passage, " and remains quite unactive until he gets rid " of his old shell, and is fully provided with a " new one. How long they continue in this " flate is uncertain, but the shell is first observed " to burft at the back and the fides, to give a " paffage to the body, and the animal extracts " its limbs from all the other parts gradually " afterwards.

afterwards. At this time the flesh is in the CHAP. richest state, and covered only with a tender " membranous skin, variegated with a multitude of reddish veins, but this hardens gradually, " and foon becomes a perfect shell like the for-" mer. It is however remarkable that, during this change, there are fome ftony concretions " always formed in the bag, which wafte and dif-" folve as the creature forms and perfects its " new crust."

To these full and particular accounts I will add, of my own knowledge, that many people, in order to eat of this fingular animal in the highest perfection, cause them to be dug out of the earth in the moulting state; but they are usually taken from the time they begin to move of themselves, till they reach the sea as already related. During all this time they are in spawn, and if my testimony can add weight to that of all who have written, and all who have feafted, on the subject, I pronounce them, without doubt, one of the choicest morsels in nature. The obfervation therefore of Du Tertre, is neither hyperbolical, nor extravagant. Speaking of the various species of this animal, he terms them " a living and perpetual fupply of manna in "the wilderness; equalled only by the miracu-" lous bounty of Providence to the children of " Israel when wandering in the desert.

" are

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK
I.

" are a refource," continues he, " to which the Indians have at all times refort; for when all other provisions are scarce, this never fails them."

SUCH plenty of animal food, had the lavish hand of nature enabled the groves and the forests of these highly favoured islands, to surnish for the use of man. The regions of water and of air were still more copiously gisted. Happily the inhabitants of those elements, less obnoxious to the arts of destruction than the races that I have described, are yet sufficiently numerous to bear witness themselves to the inexhaustible liberality of their almighty Creator.—We may say in the language of Milton,

Each creek and bay
With fry innumerable fwarm, and fhoals
Of fish glide under the green wave.

Part fingle, or with mate,
Graze the fea-weed their pasture; and thro' groves
Of coral stray, or sporting with quick glance,
Show to the fun their wav'd coats dropt with gold.

While the woods and the marshes equally abound with while fowl of infinite variety, and exquisite flavour (q). But of the tribes which these

(q) The most delicious bird in the West Indies is the Ortalan, or October-bird. It is the emberiza oryzivora of Linnæus, or rice-bird of South Carolina; of which a description is given by Catesby.—Yet it is remarkable, that they

these islands still abundantly furnish, and from CHAP. whose nature and properties there is no reason to apprehend an extinction of the race, it is not within my province to treat. The enumeration that I have made has chiefly extended to fuch, as from their fcarcity are feldom noticed by modern naturalists and voyagers, or of which the knowledge and even the names are loft to the present inhabitants:-for it has been justly observed, that what from its antiquity is but little known, has from that circumstance alone the recommendation of novelty. I shall therefore close my account of the animal creation

are reckoned birds of passage in North America as well as in the West Indies. Catesby observes, that they arrive in Carolina in infinite numbers in the month of September, to devour the rice: they continue there about three weeks, and retire when the rice begins to grow hard .- He fuppofes their route to be from Cuba to Carolina; but I believe they zre not in the islands till the month of October .- At least it is in that month that they visit Jamaica in prodigious slights, to feed on the feeds of the Guinea grass .- According to Catelby, the hens only arrive in Carolina in September. The hen is about the bigness of a lark, and coloured not unlike it in the back; the breast and belly pale yellow, the bill strong and sharp pointed, and shaped like most others of the granivorous kind .- The cock's bill is lead colour, the fore part of the head black, the hinder part and the neck of a reddish yellow, the upper part of the wing white, the back next the head black; lower down grey, the rump white, the greatest part of the wing and the whole tail black; the legs and feet brown in both fexes .- Vide the Yellow Fly-catcher of Edwards, p. 5.

with

BOOK
I.

with a description of two very curious methods, known to the antient Indians, of catching fish and wild fowl, with which I believe the reader will be amused.

"THE Indians of Jamaica and Cuba" (fays Oviedo) "go a fishing with the remora, or fuck-" ing-fish, which they employ as falconers em-" ploy hawks. This fifth, which is not above " a fpan long, is kept for the purpose and re-"gularly fed. The owner on a calm morning " carries it out to fea, fecured to his canoe by " a small but strong line, many fathoms in length; " and the moment the creature fees a fish in " the water, though at a great diffance, it flarts " away with the swiftness of an arrow, and soon " fastens upon it. The Indian, in the mean "time, loofens and lets go the line, which is " provided with a buoy that keeps on the furface of the fea, and ferves to mark the course " which the remora has taken, and he pursues " it in his canoe, until he conceives his game " to be nearly exhaufted and run down.—He "then, taking up the buoy, gradually draws "the line towards the shore; the remora still " adhering with inflexible tenacity to its prey, " and it is with great difficulty that he is made "to quit his hold. By this method" (adds " Oviedo) " I have known a turtle caught, of " a bulk

a bulk and weight which no fingle man could CHAP. " fupport (r)."

THEIR contrivance for catching wild fowl was equally ingenious, though practifed I believe by other nations, particularly the Chinese, at this day. In the ponds to which these birds refort, they used to throw calabashes (a species of gourd) which float about the water, and which, when accustomed to them, the fowl would approach without fear. Having fucceeded thus far, the sportsman puts one of these gourds on his head (first making apertures for the fight

(r) Herrera confirms this account. See also P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ii. - Besides the turtle, it is said, that the Indians (the reader may believe it or not) frequently caught the Manati in the fame manner. This fingular animal is now become very scarce on the shores of the West India Islands, but is still fometimes caught there, as I myself can witness. It is the same which the French call Lamentin.-By the British seamen it has been named (from a supposed refemblance in the head) the Sea-Cow; and its flesh, which taftes fomewhat like pork, is thought to be very good, both fresh and salted .- The animal itself is a fort of amphibious creature, neither a quadruped nor a fish.-It has two legs, and is covered with hair, and fuckles its young; yet it never leaves the water, but feeds on grafs which grows at the bottom of the fea. It is commonly from ten to fifteen feet long, huge and unwieldy, and weighs from twelve to fifteen hundred weight. Acosta, who was a very good Catholick, relates that this animal was very excellent food; but (continues he) " I scrupled to eat it on Friday, being doubtful whether it " was fifth or flish."

and

228

EOOK I.

and the breath) and very cautioufly creeps into the water, either gently fwimming, or walking where the ftream is shallow, with his head only above the water, until he gets among the fowl, when seizing one at a time by the feet, and dragging it by a sudden jerk under the surface, he fastens it to his girdle, and thus loads himself with as many as he can carry away, without creating the least alarm or disturbance among the rest.

I MIGHT now proceed to an enumeration and account of the esculent vegetables originally produced in these Islands; especially those most valuable ones, the Maize, the maniock (s), and the different species of the dioscorea or Yam; of which, and the many delicious fruits, the growth of these climates, the natives without doubt composed the chief part of their daily support: but I am here happily anticipated by the voluminous collections of systematical writers; particularly those of Sloane, Brown, and Hughes. Nevertheless it were to be wished, that those authors had more frequently discriminated than they appear to have done, such vegetables as are in-

(s) A late ingenious writer (Dr. Darwin) has given it as his opinion, that the maniock, or cassava, when made into bread, is rendered mild by the heat it undergoes, rather than by expressing its superstuous juice; and I believe the observation to be just; for Sir Hans Sloane relates, that the juice itself, however acrimonious in its raw state, becomes, when boiled, as innocent and wholesome as whey.

digenous,

digenous, from those which have been transplant- c HAP. ed from foreign countries. Nature, with most beneficent intention, has bestowed on distant climates and regions many species peculiar to each. This variety in her works, is one of the greatest incitements to human industry; and the progress of men in spreading abroad the bleffings of Providence, adorning and enriching the widely feparated regions of the globe with their reciprocal productions, as it is one of the most useful employments of our faculties, so it is a subject which well deserves the notice of the historian, and the contemplation of the philosopher (t).

Bur it is now time to quit general description

(t) The West Indies are much indebted, on this account, to the East, but I believe that the first of all fruits, the anana or pine-apple, was carried from the West to the East. It was found by Columbus in all the West India Islands, and P. Martyr, whose Decades were chiefly compiled out of Columbus's Letters to King Ferdinand, writes of it as follows: Alium fructum se invictissimus rex Ferdinandus comedisse fatetur, ab iisdem terris advectum, sqammosum, pinus nucamentum adspelu, forma colore æmulatur, sed mollitie par melopeponi, sapore omnem superat hortensem fructum: non enim arbor est, sed herba, carduo persimilis, aut acantho. Huic et rex ipse palmam tribuit. Ex iis ego pomis minime comédi: quia unum tantum è paucis allatis reperere incorruptum, cæteris ex longa navigatione putrefactis. Qui in nativo solo recentia ederunt illorum cum admiratione suavitatem extollunt. Who does not lament that King Ferdinand did not leave a flice for his honest Historiographer? The term Anana is, I believe, eastern: The West Indian name of this fruit was fan-polo-mie.

Vol. I.

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BOOK for particular history. Many objects indeed are hereafter to be confidered, which, being common to all our West Indian possessions, will be comprehenfively discuffed; -but in previously treating of the origin and progress of our national establishments in them, it seems proper to discourse of each Island separately; -and, as the most important, I begin with JAMAICA.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

Containing some additional observations concerning the origin of the Charaibes.

Having ventured, in the second chapter of this APPENbook, to adopt the opinion of Hornius (a) and other writers, who affign to some of the natives of America an oriental origin, and suppose that they anciently croffed the Atlantick Ocean, I beg the reader's indulgence while I briefly flate the evidence whereon I attempt to rebuild a fystem, which it has become fashionable, among fome late philosophers, to reject and deride.

So many volumes have indeed already been written, and fo much useless learning exhausted, on the fubject of the first peopling America, that I doubt the reader will shrink with difgust from an investigation, which perhaps has given rife to as great a number of idle books, as any question (some disputed points in divinity excepted) that ever diffracted the attention of mankind.

(a) De originibus Americanis, lib. ii. c. vi.

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DIX.

воок 1. Ir may be necessary therefore to premise, that I mean to apply my argument to the Charaibe Nation only; a people whose manners and characteristick features denote, as I conceive, a different ancestry from that of the generality of the American nations.

IT is not wonderful that the notion of their transatlantick origin should have been treated with derifion.—The advocates for this opinion, like the framers of most other systems, by attempting to prove too much, have gained even less credit than they deserve. In contending that the New World was first planted by adventurers from the Old, they univerfally take for granted, that some of those adventurers returned, and gave accounts of their discoveries; for they suppose that America was well known to the Ancients; that not only the Phenicians made repeated voyages thither; but that the Egyptians and Carthaginians also, voluntarily croffed the Atlantick, and planted Colonies, at different periods, in various parts of the New Hemisphere.

In support of these opinions, quotations have been made from poets, philosophers and historians: But, if we reflect on the limited extent of navigation before the discovery of the compass; the prevailing direction of the winds between the tropicks; and various other obstructions,

APPEN-DIX.

we may I think very confidently determine (notwithflanding the traditions preserved by Plato; the poetical reveries of Seneca the tragedian. and many other paffages in ancient writers, which admit of various interpretations, and therefore prove nothing) that no veffel every returned from any part of America before that of Columbus.-This conclusion, however, does by no means warrant us in pronouncing that no veffel ever failed thither from the ancient continent, either by accident or defign, anterior to that period. That fuch inftances did actually happen, and by what means, I shall now endeavour briefly to point out.

THERE is no circumstance in history better attested, than that frequent voyages from the Mediterranean along the African coast, on the Atlantick Ocean, were made, both by the Phenicians and Egyptians, many hundred years before the Christian era. It is true, that almost all the accounts which have been transmitted to us, in profane hiftory, of those expeditions, are involved in obscurity, and intermixed with abfurdity and fable; -but it is the business of philosophy to separate, as much as possible, truth from falfehood; and not hastily to conclude, because some circumstances are extravagant, that all are without foundation. We know from indisputable authority, that the Phenicians

K 3

BOOK cians discovered the Azores, and visited even our own Island before the Trojan war (b). That their fucceffors the Carthaginians, were not less diftinguished for the spirit of naval enterprize, we may conclude from the celebrated expedition of Hanno (c); who, about 250 years before the birth of our Saviour, failed along the African coast, until he came within five degrees of the line. It was the Carthaginians who discovered the Canary Islands, and it appears from the testimony of Pliny (d), that they found in those islands, the ruins of great buildings, (vestigia Edificiorum) a proof that they had been well inhabited in periods of which history is filent.

So far, we have clear historical evidence to guide us in our researches. Not less clear and certain

(e) This was published with Stephanus de Urbibus, by Berkley, in 1688, and in the minor geographers at Oxford. I believe it was first published in Greek, by Sigismund Gelenius, who died in 1554.

(d) Lib. vi. c. xxxii. de Fortunatis Infulis.

(though

⁽b) Procopius, Secretary to Belisarius in the time of Justinian, mentions in his Vandalica, book ii. that there were then standing in Africa Tingitana, (Tangier) two columns erected by the Chananites that fled from Joshua, the son of Nun. Eusebius also writes, that those Chananites which were driven out by the Ifraelites conducted Colonies to Tripoli, in Africa. (Bochart in Canaan, cap. xxiv.)-that they navigated the Western Ocean (cap. xxxvi.) and were in Gaul and Britain (cap. xlii.) See also Sammes's Phænician Hiftory of Britain.

DIX.

(though less numerous) are the accounts of the APPEN-Phenician navigation, down the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, to distant parts of Asia and Africa, in ages still more remote than those that have been mentioned. In the voyages undertaken by King Solomon, he employed the ships and mariners of that adventurous and commercial people. With their affiftance he fitted out fleets from Ezion-geber, a port of the Red Sea, supposed to be the Berenice of the Greeks. Of those ships, fome were bound for the western coast of the great Indian continent; others, there is reason to believe, turning towards Africa, paffed the fouthern promontory, and returned home by the Mediterranean to the port of Joppa.

In support of this account of the flourishing state of ancient navigation in the Arabian Gulph, we have, first of all, the highest authority to refer to; that of the scriptures. Next to which, we may rank the testimony of Herodotus, the father of profane history: the truth of whose well-known relation of a Phenician fleet doubling the Cape of Good Hope fix hundred years before the birth of Christ, was never disputed, I believe, until our learned countryman, the author of the late American history, delivered it as his opinion, that " all the information we have received from " the Greek and Roman authors, of the Pheni-" cian and Carthaginian voyages, excepting only

K 4 " the

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK "the short narrative of Hanno's expedi-"tion before mentioned, is of suspicious au-" thority (e)."

> I SHALL quote from Herodotus the passage alluded to, that the reader may judge for himfelf of the veracity of the venerable old Grecian. It is as follows. "Libya is every where encircled " by the fea, except on that fide where it adjoins " to Asia. Pharaoh Neco, King of Egypt (f), " made this manifest. After he had desisted from " his project of digging a canal from the Nile to " the Arabian Gulph, he furnished a body of Phe-"nicians with ships, commanding them to enter " the Northern Sea by the Pillars of Hercules; " and fail back by that route to Egypt. The " Phenicians therefore failing from the Red Sea " navigated the Southern Ocean: At the end " of autumn they anchored, and going ashore

> " fowed the ground, as those who make a Libyan " voyage always do, and staid the harvest. Having

> " cut the corn, they failed. Thus two years

" having elapsed, they returned to Egypt, pass-

" ing by the Pillars of Hercules; and they re-

(e) Robertson's History of America, vol. i. p. 9.

(f) There were two kings of Egypt of this name. The fecond, who is generally supposed to have ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, was flain in battle by the Affyrians, I think under the command of Nebuchadnezzar; but an ambiguous phrase in Herodotus, seems rather to point out the elder Neco, who was contemporary with Solomon.

" ported

ported a circumftance which to me is not APPEN-

" credible, though it may gain belief from others,
that failing round Libya they had the fun on the

" night (g)."

Notwithstanding the doubts entertained by Dr. Robertson respecting this account, I perceive in it such evidence of truth, as, to my own mind, affords entire conviction.—How could it have been known, unless from actual observation, that Africa, towards the South, was encompassed by the sea? The caution with which the venerable historian expresses himself, is remarkable: and the circumstance that the voyagers observed the meridian sun on the north, in failing round Libya, which seemed an impossibility at a time when all between the tropicks was deemed uninhabitable, is of itself decisive of the main sact (h).

DR. Robertson has shewn, it is true, that

(g) Herod. Melpomene 42. In the former editions of my work, fome miftakes were made in the translation of this passage, which were pointed out to me by the kindness of Henry James Pye, Esq. the Poet Laureat, who assures me, that he has always considered the passage in question as an undeniable proof of the early doubling the Cape of Good Hope. It was the opinion of Eratosthenes the cosmographer, that the outer sea flowed round the earth, and that the Western, or Atlantick, and Red Seas, were but one Ocean. Vide Strabo. B. 1. p. 38. See also the same author, B. 1. p. 28. where it is afferted, that Homer's Menelaus circumnavigated Africa from Gades to India.

(h) This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before that of Vasquez de Gama in 1497.

many

BOOK many historians and geographers of antiquity, who lived long after the days of Herodotus, knew nothing concerning the form and state of the fouthern parts of Africa.—He observes particularly that Ptolemy, the aftronomer, supposed that this great continent stretched without interruption to the South Pole. All this however only demonstrates that navigation, like many other branches of science, flourished in one age, and declined in another. Herodotus lived 400 years before the birth of our Saviour, and Ptolemy 140 years after. Ancient history abundantly proves that the Phenicians, and their fuccessors the Carthaginians, possessed far greater skill in naval affairs than the Greeks, Romans, or any other nation that came after them, until the fpirit of naval discovery revived, and shone with greater luftre than ever, in the fifteenth century.

From this recapitulation which I have thought necessary to make, though the substance of it may be found in a thousand different authors, (commonly blended indeed with much learned abfurdity and frivolous conjecture) the reader will clearly perceive that the navigation of the Atlantick Ocean, along the coast of Africa, both from the North and the South, and even at a confiderable distance from the land, was well understood and prevailed in very remote ages. Now if we enquire into the nature of the winds

APPEN-DIX.

winds and currents on the African coast, and reflect on the various casualties to which ships at sea are liable, even in the most savourable season of the year; we must admit, that it not only probably happened in some of those ancient expeditions, but even that it was scarce possible not to happen, that vessels would be driven by sudden gusts, or carried by adverse currents, within the verge of the trade-wind; in which case, if they happened to lose their masts, they must necessarily run before the wind, towards Brasil, or the West Indies.

Two remarkable accidents of this nature, precifely in point, are recorded by writers of credit, and doubtless there are many other instances equally well authenticated, that have escaped my refearch. The first is related by Captain Glass, in his history of the Canary Islands, who observes that a finall bark, bound from Lancerota to Teneriffe, was thus forced out of her course, and obliged to run before the wind, until she came within two days fail of the coast of Caraccas; where she fortunately met with an English cruifer which relieved her diffresses, and directed her to the Port of La Guaira on that coast. The other is told by Gumilla, as follows. "In "December 1731," fays this author, "while " I was at the town of St. Joseph, in Trinidad, " a small vessel belonging to Teneriffe, with fix feamen, was driven into that island by stress

HISTORY OF THE

ROOK.

" of weather. She was laden with wine; and being bound to one other of the Canary "Iflands, had provisions for a few days only, which, with their utmost care, had been expended a considerable time; so that the crew

"lived entirely on wine. They were reduced to the last extremity, and expected death

" every moment, when they discovered Trinidad,

and soon afterwards came to an anchor in that

" and foon afterwards came to an anchor in that " ifland, to the great aftonishment of the in-

"habitants; who ran in crowds to behold the

" poor feamen; whose emaciated appearance, would have sufficiently confirmed the truth

" of their relation, even if the papers and docu-

" ments which they produced, had not put the

" matter out of all possible doubt."

To the preceding inflances it may be added, that Columbus himself, in his second expedition to the West Indies, found the stern-post of a vessel lying on the shore at Guadaloupe;—a circumstance which affords a strong presumption that a ship had been in the New World before him.

UNDER this head of fortuitous visits to the American continent prior to that of Columbus, may likewise be included the circumstance mentioned by Martyr, that at a place called Quarequa, in the Gulph of Darien, Vascho Nunez met with a colony of negroes (d). The enquiry (if any

was

⁽d) Mancipia ibi nigra repererunt ex regione distante à Quarcqua, dierum spatio tantum duorum quæ solos gignit nigritas

was made) by what means they came into that APPENregion, or how long they had refided in it, and the answers to such questions, are not recorded by the Spanish historians; but from the smallness of their number, it was supposed they had not been long arrived upon that coast. There can be no doubt but that fome accidental cause had conducted them thither from Africa, and in open canoes, of no better construction than those of the American Indians (e).

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nigritas et eos feroces atque admodum truces.-P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. i.

(e) Such accidents in truth are common in all parts of the world. The inhabitants of Java report their origin to have been from China; the tradition among them being that, 850 years ago, their progenitors were driven by a tempest upon that island in a Chinese junk: And we owe the European discovery of Japan to three Portuguese exiles who were shipwrecked there in 1542. I believe that ships bound from Europe to the East Indies, at a certain season of the year generally make for the fouthern coast of Brasil, in order to fall in with the westerly monsoon, which enables them either to reach the Cape of Good Hope, or pursue their route by Madagascar; for while the eastern monsoon prevails, they are conflantly baffled in their attempts to double the Cape, and are driven to leeward towards the coast of South America. In the year 1626, when Sir Dodmore Cotton was fent on an embaffy to the Persian Court, the fleet in which he failed was forced by contrary winds within a few leagues of the island of Trinidad, in the West Indies. Sir Thomas Herbert, in his account of this voyage, relates that "on the " first of June, when they were by observation in 24° 42' fouth latitude, they met with many fudden gufts and " ftorms

BOOK THE reader will now perhaps conclude, that Dr. Robertson pronounced two hastily, when he observed "that such events," (as those that I have mentioned) " are barely possible, and may " have happened; but that they ever did happen, " we have no evidence, either from the clear " testimony of history, or the obscure intima-"tions of tradition." This declaration is the more unexpected, as the learned author had a little before related the circumstance of the accidental discovery of Brasil by the Portuguese, in the year 1500. "The successful " voyage of Gama to the East Indies" (observes the historian) "having encouraged the King of " Portugal to fit out a fleet, so powerful, as not " only to carry on trade, but to attempt con-" quest, he gave the command of it to Pedro 44 Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coast " of Africa, where he was certain of meeting " with variable breezes, or frequent calms, to " retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to sea, " and kept so far to the West, that, to his " furprise, he found himself upon the shore of an

" unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond

[&]quot;the line. He imagined, at first, that it was " fome island in the Atlantick Ocean hitherto

[&]quot; froms which rendered them unable to purfue their course, " and drove them to leeward 100 leagues upon the coast of

⁶⁶ Brafil."

[&]quot; unobserved;

" unobserved; but, proceeding along its coasts APPEN-" for feveral days, he was led gradually to be-" lieve that a country fo extensive formed a " part of some great continent. This latter " opinion was well founded. The country with " which he fell in belongs to that province in "South America now known by the name of " Brafil. He landed; and having formed a " very high idea of the fertility of the foil and " agreeableness of the climate, he took possession " of it for the Crown of Portugal, and dispatched " a ship to Lisbon with an account of this " event, which appeared to be no less important "than it was unexpected. Columbus's dif-" covery of the New World was the effort of " an active genius, enlightened by science, guid-" ed by experience, and acting upon a regular " plan, executed with no less courage than per-" feverance. But from this adventure of the " Portuguese, it appears that chance might " have accomplished that great design, which it " is now the pride of human reason to have " formed and perfected. If the fagacity of Co-" lumbus had not conducted mankind to " America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the " knowledge of that extensive continent (f)."

(f) Hist. America, vol. i. p. 151.

AND

144

B O O K

And certainly, by some such accident, in ages long passed, might the ancient Hemisphere have given a beginning to population in the New; or at least have sent thither the progenitors of that separate race of people of which I now treat. It remains for me, however, to assign my reasons for particularly applying this conclusion to the Charaibes, instead of any other of the numerous tribes which inhabit the eastern side of the immense continent of South America.

THE migration of any people is best traced by their language; but there is this inconveniency attending this species of evidence, that in reducing a language merely oral, to writing, different persons even of the same nation, would sometimes unavoidably represent the same sound by a very different arrangement of letters; - much more frequently would this happen, should the writers be of diffant countries, and confequently habituated to various modes of pronunciation and orthography; -but although I am of opinion therefore that vocabularies preferved by voyagers, feldom afford much certainty of information on a comparison with each other; there are, nevertheless, in every language, many words of which the found is too simple to be easily misunderstood or grossly misrepresented.

Thus, on comparing the Charaibe vocabulary, preferved by Rochefort, with the ancient oriental dialects

dialects (g), it is scarce possible to doubt that APPENthe following words used by the Charaibes, had their origin in the Old Hemisphere, and we may readily believe that many inftances of a fimilar nature might be adduced, but for the cause I have affigned, namely, the different modes which different persons would necessarily adopt, each according to his own perception of the found, of reducing the fame words to writing; thus creating a perplexity which it is now too late to disentangle. To

Charaibe.	Meaning in French, ac- Words bawing the same meaning Meaning in Eng-
Liani	cording to Rochefort. in the Oriental dialects. lift.
Yene-neri	Sa femme לי הנה [Li Hene] His wife
Hac yeté	Ma femme הנה הרה ני [Hene Hera ni] My wife Venez ici Sam. הוא א א א [Aca ati] Come hither
Trac yetc	
Karbet	Maison publique or Qir Ritz Walled house
Karbet	Allembly house
	קרא בית Qra בית
Encka	Collier py [Onq] Necklace or col-
	[lar
Yene kali	Mon Collier חענק אלי [E'Onq ali] My necklace
Hue-Hue	Du bois Cald: Ny [Oä] Wood
Nora	Ma peau עור גי [Oür ni] My skin
Nané-guaet	
Halea tibou	111111111111111111111111111111111111111
	Sois le bien יהא לי הטיבו [Yeha li e thibou] Good be to you [venu
Phoubae	Souffé ni [Phouhe] To blow
Toubana ora Couverture d'un רי בנה עור [Di Bne Our] Roof of a house	
	[Maison
Bayou bouk	aa Va t'en בוא בואך [Boua Bouak] Go thy way
Baika	Mange Cald. nin [Bge] Eat
Aika	Manger 52 [Akl] To eat
Nichiri	Mon nez נהר [Ncheri] The nose
Natoni boman Donne moi a נחניב אמן [Natoni bamen] Give menourish-	
	[hains
(g) For this illustration, and other assistance in the course	
of this enquiry, I am indebted to a learned friend; by whom	
Vor T	

I am

VOL. I.

146

BOOK I.

To the proofs arifing from language, I shall add the following.-We have feen from Herodotus, that the Phenicians in their African voyages were accustomed to land on the Arabian and Libyan coafts, and taking poffession of a spot of ground fit for their purpose, they proceeded to plough up and fow it with corn, and waited until it came to maturity; thus providing themselves with food for a long navigation. This practice must doubtless have given rife to disputes and conflicts between the intruders and the inhabitants. Now it is remarkable that the word Charaibe, in the Arabick language, fignifies, as I am informed, a robber or destroyer, an appellation which we may believe was frequently bestowed by the natives on the invaders of their country (h).

THE

I am informed (being myself unacquainted with the oriental languages) that the Samaritan, and old Phenician, the Syriack, Chaldee and Hebrew, are all dialects of one language; differing but little from each other, except in their letters. The Hebrew agrees less with the other dialects than the rest, but is now printed in the same character with the Chaldee. They all form a noun in the same manner except the Hebrew, which persises w (S) to form the genitive case, and no (at) to form the accusative; all the others use 7 (D) and no (it).

(h) Leri, and some others, speak of the Charaibes as priests or prophets found in Brasil. Rochesort makes Charaibe a national name. These words are oriental, sounding alike, but spelt differently; and of a different meaning: The priests may be called מון as men who offer פרב אינים אספרבים מון אספרבים מון

an

THE testimony arising from a similarity of APPENmanners, though far less conclusive than the evidence of language, is furely, in the prefent case, not without its force. That many of the cuftoms of the eaftern nations prevailed among the Charaibes, I have, I think, fufficiently demonstrated in the second chapter of this work. Of fome of those customs, the refemblance was probably fortuitous, and a fimilarity of climate and fituation, might have given rife to others; but when very fingular and arbitrary practices prevail between diffant nations, which are neither founded in nature nor climate, nor proceed from fituation and rank in the scale of refinement, the coincidence can fcarcely be deemed accidental. Thus, among other customs equally remarkable, it has been related that the Charaibes buried their dead in a cowering pofture, with their knees to the chin. The very fame custom prevails at this day in the Sandwich Islands of the South Sea*, the inhabitants of which are,

an offering, nopulas is the Greek word for a priest of Cybele, unde Corybantes, לי יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוח Leviticus i. 2. But if the national name be derived from their warlike and predatory way of life, then we may derive it from הדב the verb Chaldee. Syr. Arab. to lay waste. The noun fignisses a fword or fpear and חרבה Sam. War. This explanation was given me by the friend mentioned in the preceding note.

* Ledyard's MSS. penes me.

L 2

beyond

BOOK

beyond all doubt, of eastern origin; and that it was an ancient practice of the eastern nations appears from the authorities of Herodotus and Cicero; the former recording the existence of it among the Nasamones, a people who inhabited the countries between Egypt and Carthage; and the latter relating the fame circumstance of the ancient Persians. I am inclined to believe that this practice prevailed also in the country and age of the patriarchs; -- for how otherwise are we to understand the scripture phrase or GATHERING UP THE FEET OF THE DYING? " And when Jacob had made an end of command-

" ing his fons, HE GATHERED UP HIS FEET

" INTO THE BED, and yielded up the

" ghoft (i)."

Many other corresponding circumstances may be traced in Herodotus. Thus when he enumerates the army of Xerxes, he observes of the ancient Ethiopians, that they used bows and arrows in battle, and painted their bodies with crimfon *. The coincidence between these people and the Charaibes in both these respects, can hardly, I think, be ascribed to chance, and it is fuch as inftinct could not have produced.

EQUALLY prevalent among the Charaibes, and many of the ancient nations in the eaftern

⁽i) Gen. c. xlix. v. 33. * Book vii.

part of the Old Hemisphere, were the supersti- APPENtious rites of shortening the hair and wounding the body, in religious ceremonies and lamentations for the dead. That these practices were usual among the heathens, fo early as the days of Mofes, is evident from the injunction which the Lord laid on the children of Israel to avoid them. " Ye shall not round the corners of your " head, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy " beard. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your " flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon " you (k)." Again,-" Ye are the children of " the Lord, your God: Ye shall not cut yourselves, " nor make any baldness between your eyes for the " dead (1)." Among the heathens however the fame ceremonies were still continued; for in Samaria, in the days of Ahab, King of Ifrael, it is recorded of the prophets of Baal that, in worshipping their idol, "they cried aloud and " cut themselves after their manner with knives " and lances till the blood gushed out upon " them (m)." At this day the Islanders of the South Sea express grief and lamentation for the dead in the very fame manner.

But perhaps the inftance the most apposite

(k) Levit. c. xix. v. 27.

(1) Deut. c. xiv. v. 1.

(m) 1 Kings, c. xviii. v. 28.

 L_3

BOOK I.

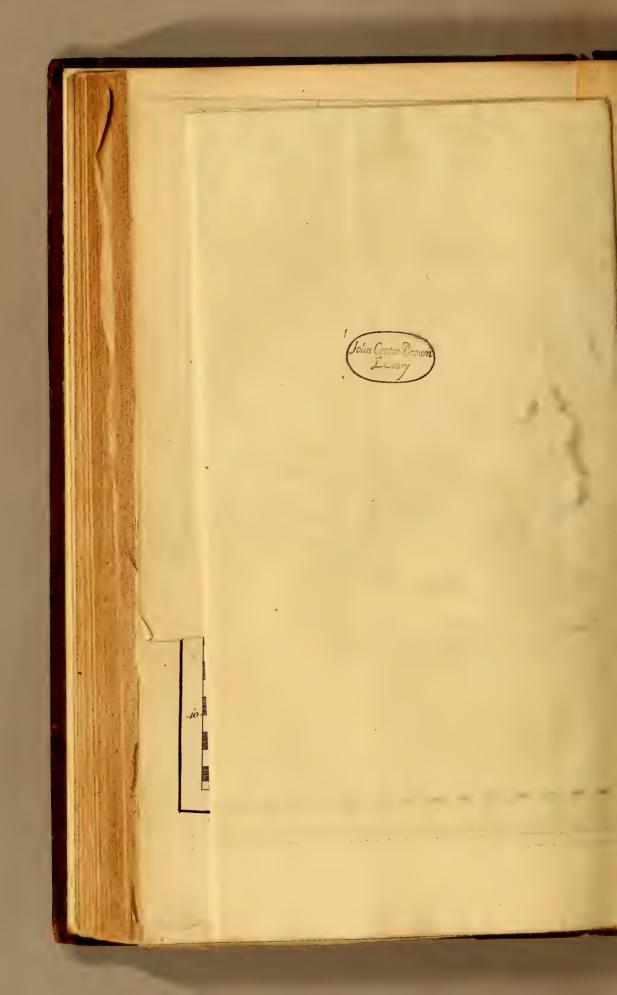
and illustrative, was the habit among the Charaibes of chewing the betele, preparing it with calcined shells precisely after the manner of the Indians in the East;—a circumstance, which, though recorded by P. Martyr (n), had escaped my researches, until it was pointed out to me by Mr. Long. Some other resemblances, almost equally striking, might be collected; but the reader will probably think that more than enough has already been said on a subject, the investigation of which he may perhaps deem a mere matter of idle curiosity, neither contributing to the improvement of science, nor the comfort of life.

HERE then I conclude: An attempt to trace back the Charaibes of the West Indies to their progenitors, the first emigrants from the ancient hemisphere, in order to point out, with any degree of precision or probability, the era of their migration, were (like the voyages I have been describing) to venture on a vast and unknown ocean without a compass;—and even without one friendly star to guide us through the night of conjecture.

(n) Decad. viii. c. vi.





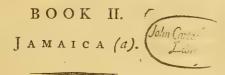


HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

O F

The British Colonies in the West Indies.



CHAP. I.

Discovery of Jamaica by Columbus.—His return in 1503.—Spirited proceedings of his son Diego, after Columbus's death.—Takes possession of Jamaica in 1509.—Humane conduct of Juan de Esquivel, the first Governor.—Establishment and desertion of the town of Sevilla Nueva.—Desiruction of the Indians.—St. Jago de la Vega founded.—Gives the title of Marquis to Diego's

(a) It may be proper to observe, that the governor of Jamaica is stiled in his commission Captain-general, &c. of Jamaica and the territories thereon depending in America. By these dependences were meant the British settlements on the Musquito shore, and in the bay of Honduras: But his L 4 jurisdiction

fon Lewis, to whom the Island is granted in perpetual sovereignty.—Descends, to his sister Islabella, who conveys her rights by marriage to the House of Braganza.—Reverts to the crown of Spain, in 1640.—Sir Anthony Shirley invades the Island in 1596, and Col. Jackson in 1638.

BOOK II. JAMAICA had the honour of being difcovered by Christopher Columbus, in his second expedition to the New World. In his former voyage he had explored the north-eastern part of Cuba, proceeding from thence to Hispaniola; but he had returned to Europe in doubt whether Cuba was an island only, or part

jurisdiction over those settlements having been imperfectly defined, was feldom acknowledged by the fettlers; except when they wished to plead it in bar of the authority claimed by their respective superintendants. On such occasions they admitted a superior jurisdiction in the governor of Jamaica, and applied to him for commissions civil and military. As both the fettlements were furrendered to the crown of Spain by the Spanish convention figned at London on the 14th of July 1786, it comes not within the plan of my work to enter on a display of their past or present state. I formerly drew up a memorial concerning the fettlement on the Musquito-shore, wherein an account was given of the country, its inhabitants and productions, and the question between Great Britain and Spain, as to the territorial right, pretty fully discussed. This memorial having been laid before the House of Commons in 1777 (by Governor Johnstone) was soon afterwards published in Almon's Parliamentary Register for that year.

of fome great continent, of which he had received CHAP. obscure accounts from the natives. To fatisfy himfelf in this particular, he determined, foon after his arrival a fecond time at Hispaniola, on another voyage to Cuba, by a fouth-westerly course, and, in pursuance of this resolution, on the 24th of April, 1494, Columbus failed from the Port of Ifabella, with one ship and two shallops. On Tuesday the 29th, he anchored in the harbour of St. Nicholas. From thence he croffed over to Cuba, and coafted along the fouthern fide of that Island, furrounded by many thousand canoes filled with Indians, whom curiofity and admiration had brought together. In this navigation, on Saturday the 3d of May, he discovered, for the first time, the high lands of Jamaica on the left, and probably learnt its name (the name which it still retains) from fome of the Indians that followed him (b). As this was a new discovery, and many of the seamen were willing to believe that it was the place to which they had been formerly directed by the Indians of the Bahama Islands, as the country most

(b) P. Martyr. F. Columbus. The early Spanish historians wrote the word Xaymaca. It is faid to have fignified, in the language of the natives, a country abounding in springs. Columbus having at first named the island St. Jago, Oldmixon, and fome other writers, erroneously suppose that Jamaica was the augmentative of James.

abounding

BOOK II. abounding in gold, Columbus was eafily perfuaded to turn his course towards it. He approached it the next day, and, after a slight contest with the natives, which ended however in a cordial reconciliation, he took possession of the country, with the usual formalities.

But it was not until the fourth and last voyage of Columbus, a voyage undertaken by this great navigator, after he had fuffered a feverer trial from the base ingratitude of the Country and Prince in whose service he laboured, than from all his past toils, dangers and inquietudes, that he learnt more of Jamaica; which, as it had the honour of being first discovered by him nine years before, had now the still greater honour of affording him shelter from shipwreck. For, on the 24th of June 1503, being on his return to Hispaniola, from Veragua, he met with fuch tempeftuous weather as compelled him, after losing two of his ships, to bear away in the utmost distress for this island. With great difficulty, he reached a little harbour on the north fide (c) where he was forced to run aground the two veffels that were left him, to prevent their foundering. By this difafter, his ships were damaged beyond the possibility of repair, and he had now the melancholy reflection that his

(c) Called to this day, Don Christopher's Cove.

miferies

miseries and his life would probably terminate CHAP. together. During the space of twelve months and four days, that he remained in this wretched fituation, he had new dangers to furmount, and unaccustomed trials for the exercise of his fortitude. His people revolted, the Indians deferted him, and the Governor of Hispaniola not only refused to relieve, but, with monstrous and unexampled barbarity, aggravated his misfortunes by outrage and mockery. All these occurrences however, the dexterity with which he availed himself of the superstition of the Indians by the circumstance of an eclipse, and the means whereby his deliverance was at length effected, having been recounted by a thousand different historians, need not be repeated by me. hardships he suffered on this occasion, and his Sovereign's ingratitude together, proved too mighty for his generous spirit: he sunk under them, foon after his return to Spain; leaving a name which will not be extinguished, but with that world whose boundaries he had extended (d).

AFTER

(d) There is preserved among the Journals of the Hon. Council in Jamaica, a very old volume in MS. confisting of diaries and reports of Governors, which relate chiefly to the proceedings of the army and other transactions in the first settlement of the colony. In this book is to be found

156

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK II. AFTER the death of this illustrious discoverer, the transactions of the Spaniards, during a century and a half, in the settlement of Jamaica, have scarcely obtained the notice of history. Happy indeed it would have been for their national character, if the records of many of their more extensive enterprises, during the same period,

were

the translation of a letter to the King of Spain, said to be written by Columbus during his confinement on this Island. As it appears to me to bear marks of authenticity, I shall present it to my readers. It was written probably about eight months after the departure of his messenger Diego Mendez, who had attempted to reach Hispaniola in an Indian canoe. Hearing nothing from him in that interval, Columbus seems to have relinquished every hope of relief, and to have written this letter in an hour of despondency, not as having any probable means of sending it to Spain, but on the idea that it would be found after his death.—It is as follows:

A Letter from Christopher Columbus, in Jamaica, to King Ferdinand.

" " Jamaica, 1504.

"Diego Mendes, and the papers I fent by him, will fhew your Highness what rich mines of gold I have discovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belin, if the judgments of Heaven and the greatest misfortunes in the world had not prevented it. However it is sufficient that your Highness and your successors will have the glory and advantage of all, and that the full discovery and settlement are reserved for happier persons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be so merciful

were veiled in equal darkness, or configned to CHAP. everlasting oblivion: happier still, if their splendour had been transmitted to posterity through a purer

to meas to conduct Mendes to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your Highness and my great mistress that this will not only be a Castile and Leon, but a discovery of a world of fubjects, lands and wealth, greater than man's unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet: but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man, can express the anguish and afflictions of my body and mind; nor the mifery and dangers of my fon, brother and friends! Already have we been confined ten months in this place, lodged on the open decks of our ships, that are run on shore and lashed together; those of my men that were in health have mutined under the Porras's of Seville, my friends that were faithful are mostly fick and dying, we have confumed the Indians' provisions, fo that they abandon us; all therefore are like to perish by hunger, and these miseries are accompanied with fo many aggravating circumstances, that render me the most wretched object of misfortune, this world shall ever see; as if the displeasure of Heaven seconded the envy of Spain, and would punish as criminal those undertakings and discoveries which former ages would have acknowledged as great and meritorious actions! Good Heaven, and you holy faints that dwell in it, let the King Don Ferdinand and my illustrious mistress Donna Isabella know, that my zeal for their fervice and interest hath brought me thus low; for it is impossible to live and have afflictions equal to mine. I fee, and with horror apprehend, my own, and, for my fake, my unfortunate and deferving peoples' destruction. Alas, piety and justice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much! As my mifery makes my life a burthen to myself, fo I fear the empty titles of Vice-Roy and Admiral, render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spanish nation.

158

HISTORY OF THE

EOOK II. purer medium, and not, as now, ferving chiefly to render visible the vices and enormities that furround and debase them!

THE few particulars of their progress which, by diligent selection, aided by traditionary memorials,

It is visible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am, in my old age, oppressed with infupportable pains of the gout, and am now languishing and expiring with that and other infirmities, among favages, where I have neither medicines nor provisions for the body, priest nor facrament for the foul. My men in a state of revolt; my brother, my fon, and those that are faithful, fick, flarving and dying; the Indians have abandoned us, and the Governor of Saint Domingo, has fent rather to fee if I am dead, than to fuccour us, or carry me alive from hence; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us; fo I conclude your Highness's officers intend that here my voyages and life should terminate. O blessed mother of God, that compaffionates the miferable and oppressed, why did not cruel Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly purchased gold, and sent us to Spain in chains without trial crime or shadow of misconduct? These chains are all the treasures I have, and they shall be buried with me, if I chance to have a coffin or grave; for I would have the remembrance of fo unjust an action perish with me, and, for the glory of the Spanish name, be eternally forgotten. Let it not bring a further infamy on the Castillian name, nor let future ages know, there were wretches fo vile in this, that think to recommend themselves to your majesty by destroying the unfortunate and miserable Christopher Columbus; not for his crimes, but for his fervices in difcovering and giving Spain a new world. As it was Heaven itself that inspired and conducted me to it, the Heavens will rials, I have been able to collect, I shall now pre- CHAP. fent to my readers.

ABOUT seventeen years had elapsed after the Spaniards had first fixed themselves in Hispaniola, before they seem to have entertained any

will weep for me, and flew pity! Let the earth, and every foul in it, that loves justice and mercy, weep for me! And you, O glorified Saints of God, that know my innocency and fee my fufferings here, have mercy! for though this present age is envious or obdurate, furely those that are to come will pity me, when they are told that Christopher Columbus, with his own fortune, ran the hazard of his own and his brother's lives, and, with little or no expence to the Crown of Spain, in ten years, and four voyages, rendered greater fervices than ever mortal man did to prince or kingdom, yet was left to perifh, without being charged with the least crime, in poverty and misery; all but his chains being taken from him; fo that he who gave Spain another world, had neither fafety in it, nor yet a cottage for himfelf, nor his wretched family: but, should Heaven still persecute me, and feem displeased with what I have done, as if the discovery of this new world may be fatal to the old, and as & punishment bring my life to a period in this miserable place, yet do you, good angels, you that fuccour the oppreffed and innocent, bring this paper to my great mistress. She knows how much I have done, and will believe what I have fuffered for her glory and fervice, and will be so just and pious as not to let the children of him that has brought to Spain fuch immenfe riches, and added to it vast and unknown kingdoms and empires, want bread, or fubfift only on alms. She, if she lives, will confider that cruelty and ingratitude will bring down the wrath of Heaven, fo that the wealth I have difcovered, shall be the means of stirring up all mankind to revenge and rapine, and the Spanish nation fuffer hereafter, for what envious, malicious and ungrateful people, do now.

ferious



воок п. ferious defign of fending forth a colony to posfefs itself of Jamaica. As this island had hitherto produced neither gold nor filver, it feems to have been neglected as unworthy further notice; and perhaps it might have continued a few years longer the peaceful feat of innocent fimplicity, but for the base ingratitude of King Ferdinand, towards the family of Columbus. This great man, after his return to Spain in 1504, was compelled to employ the close of his days in fruitless and irksome solicitation at the court of an unthankful and unfeeling monarch; who meanly fuffered him to be cruelly defrauded of the rights and privileges originally granted to him; and which he had fo dearly and fo nobly earned. His fon Diego, the heir of his fortunes, fucceeded to the same debasing necessity, till, at length, wearied out with frivolous and unprincely excuses, he instituted a memorable process against his fovereign before the council of the Indies at Seville; and this court, with a firmness and virtue that cannot be fufficiently applauded, decided in favour of his pretentions. After a minute and folemn investigation of his claims, the council pronounced him hereditary viceroy and high admiral of all the countries and islands discovered by his father. They decreed, that he was invested with a jurisdiction over them similar to that of the high admiral of Castille; that he

was

was entitled to a tenth part of all the gold and CHAP. filver that might thereafter be found in those territories; and they adjudged him various other privileges and immunities, of vaft extent and authority. But the king, notwithstanding this diffinguished and competent recognition of his rights, confirmed to him only the title and authority of governor and admiral of Hispaniola; and even of this diminished command, it is probable he would have been deprived, if he had not fortunately strengthened his interest by an illustrious marriage (e). The gallant youth, nevertheless, still boldly persisted in his claim to the full exercise of all the rights and authority, which had been fo recently decreed to belong to him; and he shortly afterwards, accompanied by a numerous and fplendid retinue, embarked for his government, refolved to enforce his pretenfions.

HE arrived in Hispaniola in the month of July 1508, but had very foon the mortification to discover that the king had actually invested in two other persons (Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuessa) not only two separate and distinct governments, which comprehended all the con-

VOL. I.

M

tinent

⁽e) He married Mary de Toledo, daughter to Ferdinand de Toledo, grand commander of Leon, who was brother to Frederick duke of Alva.

BOOK II. tinent as far as it had been discovered by Christopher Columbus, but had also included the island of Jamaica, as a joint appendage within the jurisdiction of each. These appointments Diego Columbus confidered as a manifest violation of his own rights, and strenuously contended for the exclusive privilege of nominating, in particular, to the governments of Veragua and Jamaica, the prior discovery of both those countries by his father being a circumstance of universal notoriety. To fecure his claim to Jamaica, in the month of November 1509, he fent thither Tuan de Esquivel, with about seventy men. Efquivel had acquired the reputation of a gallant foldier, and it is still more to his honour, that he was one of the very few Castillians, who, amidst all the horrors of bloodshed and infectious rapine, were diftinguished for generofity and humanity. An eminent instance of his greatness of mind is recorded by Herrera.-About the time that he failed from Hispaniola to take possession of his new government of Jamaica, his competitor Ojeda was on his departure to the continent. Ojeda violently opposed the intended expedition of Esquivel, and publickly threatened that if he should find him at Jamaica, on his return from the continent, he would hang him up as a rebel. It happened that Ojeda's voyage was unfortunate in the highest degree; for,

for, after fustaining a series of unexampled care CHAP. lamities, he was shipwrecked on the Coast of Cuba, and was in danger of miserably perishing for want of food. In his diffress he called to mind that Esquivel was in Jamaica, and he was now reduced to the fad extremity of imploring fuccour from the very man whose destruction he had meditated; but the magnanimous Esquivel was no sooner made acquainted with the fufferings of his enemy, than he forgot all his refentment. He immediately sent over to Cuba, Pedro de Narvez, an officer of rank, to conduct Ojeda to Jamaica. Efquivel received him with the tenderest sympathy, treated him, during his flay, with every possible mark of diffinction and respect, and provided him with the means of a speedy and safe conveyance to Hispaniola. It is pleasing to add, that Ojeda was not ungrateful to his benefactor.

UNDER fuch a man, it is reasonable to suppose that the yoke of subjection sat light and easy on the natives of Jamaica, and that the ravages of conquest were restrained within the limits of humanity. Accordingly, the Spanish historians bear the most honourable testimony to his virtuous and gentle administration.-"The affairs of Jamaica (fays Herrera) went " on prosperously, because Juan de Esquivel " having brought the natives to fubmiffion M 2 66 without

164

BOOK II. " without any effusion of blood, they laboured in
" planting cotton, and raising other commodities
" which yielded great profit." This praise is the
more valuable because it is almost peculiar to
Esquivel, who alone seems to have been sensible
of the abominable wickedness of visiting distant
lands only to desolate them; and of converting
the Indians to Christianity by cutting their
throats. How many noble qualities, in some of
his cotemporaries, were tarnished by cruelty and
rapine, or unhappily blended with a misguided
and frantick zeal for religion, that rendered their
possessions.

Esquivel continued in his office but a few years. He died in his government, and was buried at Sevilla Nueva, a town which he had founded. He was probably fucceeded by governors of a far different character, who, it is to be feared, foon began to fpread among the wretched natives the fame horrible carnage that was now defolating Hifpaniola. It appears that Francis de Garay held the chief command in 1523, fince in that year he fitted out an expedition from this island for the conquest of Panuco, a territory which Cortes, unknown to Garay, had already annexed to the Spanish dominion. In this expedition were employed nine ships and two brigantines, and there were embarked in it 850 Spaniards, and a confiderable body of Jamaica Indians.

Indians, and 144 horses. Such a force, if col- CHAP. lected chiefly within the island, proves that a great progress had been made in its settlement and population during the thirteen years that the Spaniards had been in poffession of it. As Esquivel had established the seat of government near to the fpot which had been honoured by the residence of Columbus after his shipwreck in 1503, it may be prefumed that the town of Sevilla Nueva was now become of some confideration. This town, as we are informed by Herrera, was founded on the scite of an ancient Indian village, called Maima (f), and near to the port named by Columbus Santa Gloria (now St Ann's Harbour) and the daily accession of new inhabitants would naturally extend the boundaries of the capital, till the rude village, confifting at first of a few temporary huts, must have increased to a place of importance. Religion too, in all the Spanish territories, very foon forced architecture into her fervice; for, by a lamentable inconfiftency in the human

(f) Quafi MAMEE. There is a bay a little to the eastward, which is called at this hour Mamee Bay. The ground on which Sevilla Nueva was built, is now chiefly the property of Mr. Heming, who has a large fugar plantation thereon. It is called Seville Plantation; and the ruins of the ancient town are still visible in some of the cane-fields. It descended to him from his ancestor Captain Heming, an officer in Cromwell's army.

 M_3

mind_a

II.

BOOK mind, these destroyers of their fellow-creatures were wonderfully exact in the observance of all the outward ceremonies of divine worship, With hands yet reeking in the blood of murdered innocence, they could erect temples to the Almighty, and implore that mercy from Heaven, which they had just denied to the miserable victims of their cruelty and rapine. Among other costly buildings a cathedral and monastery were defigned, and the foundations of both were visible not long ago, as many of the ruins are at this day. Peter Martyr of Angleria, the author of the Decades, was appointed abbot and chief missionary of the island. A fort was also erected, the remains of which, as well as of the cathedral, were inspected by Sloane in 1688, who relates, that a pavement was discovered at the distance of two miles from the church; a circumstance that may give us some idea of the extent of the city in the days of its prosperity. The west gate of the cathedral stood entire in 1688, and displayed, in the judgment of Sloane, very excellent workmanship; but it was his opinion that the building was never compleated; for he observed several arched stones that must have been defigned for it, which apparently had never been put up (g). He likewise discovered,

> (g) "Over the door (of the west gate) was a carving of our Saviour's head with a crown of thorns between two angels;

in the same condition, materials for a capital CHAP. mansion, probably intended for the palace of the governor. From these circumstances, the tradition which still prevails in the island, that the Spanish inhabitants of Seville were at some period, in their wars with the natives, entirely and fuddenly cut off, is probably founded in truth. Sloane, indeed, relates that fome of the Spanish planters, who had retired to Cuba, affigned very different reasons for the desertion of this part of the country, alledging, that a visitation of innumerable ants had destroyed all their provision grounds, and that the fituation of the capital was ill adapted for the purposes of their commerce. These reasons might possibly have operated against the re-establishment of the place; but were not, I think, of fufficient efficacy to induce a whole body of people, the inhabitants of a growing capital, fuddenly to remove

angels; on the right fide a fmall round figure of fome faint, with a knife fluck into his head. On the left a Virgin Mary or Madona, her arm tied in three places, Spanish fashion. Over the gate, under a coat of arms, this infcrip-

Petrus. Martir. Ab, Angleria. Italus. Civis. Mediolanen. Prothon. Apos. Hujus. Infule. Abbas. Senatus. Indici. Confiliarius. Ligneam. Primus. Ædem. Hanc. Bis. Igne. Confumptam. Latericio. Et. Quadrato. Lapide. Primus. A. Fundamentis. Etruxit."

SLOANE.

M 4

their

BOOK

their families and effects, and voluntarily submit to the labour of building an entire new town, in a very diftant and wholly uncultivated part of the country*. It is certain, that the town of Seville was not fuffered to fall gradually to decay; but was depopulated while it was yet in an unfinished state, many years before the conquest of the island by the English (h). Neither (if this tradition of its catastrophe were true) could a just account be expected from the defcendants of men, who had deservedly brought destruction on themselves; since the recital of their fate would again have brought the deeds also of their ancestors to remembrance, and they were deeds of darkness, too mournful to contemplate; too dreadful to be told!

* It is remarkable, however, that the whole island of Hifpaniola was nearly destroyed by ants about the same period. In 1519, and the two fucceeding years, as Oviedo relates, these insects over-ran that island like an Egyptian plague; devouring all the roots and plants of the earth, fo that the country was nearly depopulated. In our own times, the island of Grenada has suffered prodigiously from the fame cause, of which some account will hereafter be given.

(h) See the account of Jamaica transmitted to Cromwell by general Venables, preferved in Thurloe's ftate papers, vol. iii. p. 545, wherein he speaks of Seville as a town that had existed in times past. And Sloane relates that when the English took the island, the ruins of this city were overgrown with wood and turned black with age. He faw timber-trees growing within the walls of the cathedral, upwards of fixty feet in height. Sloane's Hift. Jamaica, vol. i. p. 66.

Вотн

CHAP.

I.

BOTH ancient tradition, and recent discoveries, give too much room to believe that the work of destruction proceeded no less rapidly in this island, after Esquivel's death, than in Hispaniola; for to this day caves are frequently difcovered in the mountains, wherein the ground is covered with human bones; the miserable remains, without all doubt, of some of the unfortunate aborigines, who, immured in those recesses, were probably reduced to the fad alternative of perifhing with hunger, or bleeding under the fwords of their merciles invaders (g). When therefore we are told of the fate of the Spanish inhabitants of Seville, it is impossible to feel any other emotion than an indignant wish that the story were better authenticated, and that Heaven in mercy had permitted the poor Indians in the fame moment to have extirpated their oppreffors altogether! But unhappily this faint glimmering of returning light to the wretched natives, was foon loft in everlafting darknefs, fince it pleafed the Almighty, for reasons inscrutable to finite wisdom, to permit the total destruction of this devoted people; who, to the number of 60,000, on the most moderate estimate, were at length wholly cut off and exterminated by the Spaniards, not a fingle de-

(g) It is discovered by the skulls, which are preternaturally compressed, that these are the skeletons of the Indians.

fcendant

170

HISTORY OF THE

English took the island in 1655, nor, I believe, for a century before (h).

THE

(h) There is faid to exist on the south side of the island of Cuba, at this day, a small remnant of the ancient Indians. They reside in a little town near St. Jago de Cuba, called Iwanee, and have adopted the manners and language of the Spaniards. The destruction of such prodigious numbers of these innocent people by the sirst discoverers, is one of the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind, and the subject can never be contemplated but with blended sentiments of indignation and horror, commiseration and sympathy. Emotions of this kind gave rise to the following night scene (part of an unfinished work, which will probably never be compleated) and its insertion in this place the poetical reader may possibly pardon;

Refulgent Venus and the starry train,
Spangle the vivid hemisphere. Around
Myriads of insect-meteors *, living lamps,
People the glittering air. A fairy world
I tread: a land of genii! Airy shapes,
Oft visible to contemplation's eye,
Roam in the midnight hour these facred shades;
Nor unobserved, while now the starry train
Burn with diminish'd lustre; for behold,
The radiant moon bid meaner glories sade.
No cloud her course obscures, and high she tow'rs,
Guiding in awful majesty thro' Heav'n
Her silver car, triumphant o'er the dark.

Sure 'tis illusion and enchantment all!

Sure 'tis illusion and enchantment all!—
For still fond fancy, thro' the shadowy glade,
Sees visionary sleeting forms; still hears

* Fireflies,

Sounds

THE loss of Seville was followed by that of CHAP.

Melilla, a small village situated about eleven leagues to the eastward, (at the harbour now called Port Maria) and the catastrophe which attended

Sounds more than human. Once a gentle race
Own'd these fair vallies: from the birth of time
These groves, these fountains, and these hills were theirs.
Perhaps e'en now their sp'rits delighted haunt
Their once-lov'd mansions. Oft the pensive Muse
Recalls, in tender thought, the mournful scene
When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
His last sad blessing to a weeping train
Dying bequeath'd. 'The hour (he said) arrives,
By ancient sages to our sires foretold *!—
Fierce from the deep, with Heav'n's own lightning arm'd,
The pallid nation comes! Blood marks their steps;
Man's agonies their sport, and man their prey!

What piercing shricks still vibrate on the ear!
The expiring mother lifts her feeble arm
In vain to shield her infant; the hot steel
Smoaks with their mingled blood; and blooming youth,
And manly strength, and virgin beauty, meet
Alike th' untimely grave; till fell revenge
Is cloy'd and tir'd with slaughter. See, full-gorg'd,
The vulture sickens o'er his waste of prey,
And, surfeit-swell'd, the reeking hound expires.

Yet pause not, Spaniard! whet thy blunted steel; Take thy full pastime in the field of blood!
But know, stern tyrant, retribution's hour
Ere long shall reach thee. Tho' his once loved isse,
For crimes yet unaton'd, dread Zemi thus
To desolation and to death configns,
And thou the instrument of wrath divine;

* See B. i. c. 3. p. 92.

172

BOOK attended these places is supposed to have caused the establishment of the capital of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called, Spanish Town.

CONCERNING

In yonder orb, now darken'd in his course, Read thy own doom more dreadful! With the flain, The murtherer falls! Th' oppressor and th' oppress'd Mingle in dust together! Where are now Thy blood-polluted glories? Ah! too late, Learn, when avenging Heav'n prefumptuous guilt Gives to its own fell purpofes a prey, More mark'd its fate, more terrible its fall.

So perish the false triumphs, and vain hopes Of mad ambition, and remorfeless pride, That make weak man the murtherer of man! O my affociates, dry those scalding tears !-One little moment, and we shall arrive At those bless'd islands, where, from guilt refin'd By sharp affliction, we no more shall feel Death's torpid grasp, and agonizing pang! There, with lov'd forefathers, shall we rove Thro' palmy shades; in limpid fountains bathe, Repose in jasmin bowr's at fultry noon; And, when cool ev'ning tempers foft the air, Unenvied gather from his unprun'd bough The fragrant guoyva*. On our cheeks no more The burning tear shall linger; not a figh Swell the light bosom; but immortal joy Fill ev'ry thought, and brighten ev'ry eye: Meantime, those happy interdicted shores Our blood-stain'd foes shall seek; but seek in vain: The hurricane shall rave, the thunder roll, And ocean whelm them in his deepest tide, Or leave transfix'd on the hard pointed rock;

The

^{*} The fruit so called is the Psidium fructicosum of Botanists. P. Martyr relates, that it was in high esteem among the natives.

Concerning the precise era of these events, it is now perhaps useless to enquire; but if conjecture may be allowed, I should fix on the year 1523, immediately after the departure of the force under Garay; and if the new capital was really sounded by Diego Columbus, as tradition reports, and which there seems no good reason to dispute, the conjecture is strongly confirmed; for he embarked for Spain in discontent in 1517, returned to his government with fuller powers in 1520, and died in his native country in the latter end of 1525, or the beginning of 1526; and it was certainly after his arrival the last time in Hispaniola, that he laid, or caused to be laid, the foundation of St. Jago de la Vega (i).

THE new city increased rapidly, and in 1545 (twenty years after the death of its founder) it

The fport of howling winds. How shall we laugh, When the pale coward slaves, to us, remote, Direct th' uplifted hand, th' imploring eye!

Their conscious groans shall feed our great revenge;—
Their endless woes, our wond'rous wrongs repay.'

Jamaica, a poem; MSS. penes me.

(i) Since this was written I have discovered, by a re-perusal of Oviedo, that there was a general revolt of the Indians of St. Domingo in December 1522, which Diego Columbus suppressed, and immediately afterwards repaired to Jamaica to take on himself the government in the room of Garay. It seems probable, from hence, that the revolt extended to both islands.

had

BOOK had the honour of giving the title of Marquis to his fon and heir, who received at the fame time from the emperor Charles V. a grant of the whole island in perpetual fovereignty, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Castille.

> As this is an important circumstance in the history of this island, and seems not to have been perfectly understood by any of the English historians who have treated of the affairs of Jamaica, I prefume that a more copious account and explanation of it, will not be unacceptable.

> DIEGO COLUMBUS left iffue three fons and two daughters. His eldest son, Don Lewis, fucceeded to his father's honours and extensive claims. Of the daughters, the eldest, Isabella, afterwards intermarried with the count de Gelvez. a Portuguese nobleman of the house of Braganza. Lewis Columbus was an infant of fix years of age on the death of his father; but was generally confidered as hereditary vice-roy, and high admiral of the West Indies. The emperor, however, though he treated him with fingular diftinction, and confiderably augmented his revenues, as he grew to manhood, absolutely refused to admit his claim to fuch extensive authority; and Lewis, as his minority expired, instituted, after his father's example, a legal process for the recovery of his birthright. It does not appear that

that his fuit ever came to a legal iffue; for, CHAP. in the year 1545, he found it prudent to accede to a compromife with the emperor, whereby he transferred all his hereditary rights to the crown, for a grant of the province of Veragua and the island of Jamaica, with the title of duke de Veragua and marquis de la Vega. What might have been the precise extent and nature of this grant, we have not information fufficient to enable us to judge. Whatever it was, he left no iffue to enjoy it; and his brothers also dving without male iffue, his fifter Isabella, wife of the count de Gelvez, became fole heiress of the Columbus family, and conveyed by her marriage all her rights to the house of Braganza, where they continued, I believe, till the year 1640, and then reverted back by forfeiture to the crown of Spain, in confequence of the revolution which placed John duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal.

SIR Hans Sloane therefore, in afferting that a duke de Veragua enjoyed a yearly revenue from Jamaica, at the time the island furrendered to the English in 1655, must have been misinformed; as he clearly is in supposing that the family of Columbus were at that time proprietors of the island, and had so continued from the days of Ferdinand and Isabella.

But there is a circumstance recorded by Blome. 176

BOOK Blome, and confirmed by the state papers of Thurloe, for which the relation I have given fufficiently accounts. I mean the establishment in Jamaica of many Portuguese families. transfer of Isabella's inheritance to the house of Braganza, might have encouraged many of the Portuguese to fix their fortunes in the newlyacquired colony, and it is equally probable that the fame event would excite jealoufy in the old Spanish settlers towards their new visitors. Blome adds, that the Portuguese were abhorred.

To fuch mutual diftruft, and irreconcileable aversion of the inhabitants towards each other, must be ascribed the reason that Sir Anthony Shirley met with fo little refiftance when he invaded the island in 1596, and plundered the capital. About forty years afterwards it was again invaded by a force from the Windward Islands under colonel Jackson. It is said, however, that on this occasion the inhabitants behaved with great gallantry in a pitched battle at Paffage-Fort. They were, however, defeated, and Jackfon, after losing forty of his men, entered St. Jago de la Vega fword in hand, and, having pillaged the town of every thing valuable, received a confiderable ranfom for sparing the houses. He then retreated to his ships, and carried off his booty without interruption.

FROM

From this period, until the capture of the island by the English in 1655, during the usurpation of Cromwell, I know nothing of its concerns, nor perhaps were they productive of any event deserving remembrance. I shall therefore proceed, in the next chapter, to the consideration of the Protector's motives for attacking the territories of Spain at a time when treaties of peace subsisted between the two nations; which I conceive have hitherto been greatly misunderstood, or wilfully misrepresented, by historians in general.

CHAP.

+**+ In the preceding chapter (p. 167 of the present edition) I have affigned fome reasons in support of the traditional account of the destruction of New Seville, on the northern side of Jamaica, by the ancient Indians, and I have supposed that event to have happened in the year 1523. I have fince discovered that the reasons I have given were well founded. Among Sir Hans Sloane's MSS. in the British Muleum, I have been shewn part of an unpublished history of Jamaica, which was written the beginning of the present century, by Doctor Henry Barham, a very learned and respectable physician of that island, wherein the circumstance is related nearly in the manner I had fuggested, and stated to have occurred (as I had supposed) immediately after the embarkation of the force under Garay; which is known, from Herrera, to have taken place in 1523.—In the fame work, the letter from Christopher Columbus (vide p. 156, et feq.) is preserved as a document of undoubted authenticity.

VOL. I.

N

CHAP. II.

Cromwell windicated for attacking the Spaniards in 1655.—Their cruelties in the West Indies, in contravention of the treaty of 1630.—Proposals offered by Modysford and Gage.—Forcible arguments of the latter.—Secretary Thurloe's account of a conference with the Spanish Ambassador.—Cromwell's demand of satisfaction rejected.—State of Jamaica on its capture.

BOOK II. THERE is no portion of the English annals, in the perusal of which greater caution is requisite, than the history of the administration of the protector Cromwell. The prejudices of party, which, in common cases, are lost in the current of time, have floated down to us in full strength against this prosperous usurper; and his actions, from the period that he reached the summit of power, are still scrutinized with industrious malignity, as if it were impossible that authority irregularly acquired, could be exercised with justice.

It is not strange therefore that the vigorous proceedings of the Protector against the Spanish nation, in 1655, should have been obnoxious to censure, or that writers of very opposite political principles

principles should concur in misrepresenting his conduct on that occasion. The celebrated female republican (a) terms it "dishonourable and piratical," and the courtly and elegant apologist of the Stewart family (b), pronounces it a most unwarrantable violation of treaty.

CHAP.

THE publication of the state papers of Thurloe (the Secretary) ought, however, to have mitigated this weight of cenfure. In truth, it will be found that nothing but a most disingenuous concealment of the hoftile proceedings of the Spaniards, too gross to be palliated, towards the subjects of England, can give even the colour of plausibility to the charge which has been brought against Cromwell, of having commenced an unjust and ruinous war, against a friend and ally, contrary to the interest of the nation, and in violation of the faith of treaties. If the power which is vefted in the executive magistrate, by whatever name he be diftinguished, be held for the protection and fecurity of the religion, liberties and properties of the people under his government, the measures adopted by the Protector on that occasion were not merely justifiable; they were highly necessary, and even meritorious; for the conduct of Spain, especially in America,

⁽a) Mrs. Macauley—History of England.

⁽b) David Hume-History of Great Britain.

180

BOOK II.

was the declaration and exercise of war against the whole human race. I shall adduce a few remarkable facts to support this affertion. fubject is curious in itself, and, in some respects, will be new to the reader.

THE latest treaty which had been made between England and Spain, previous to the affumption of the protectorate by Cromwell, was concluded in the year 1630; by the first article of which it was flipulated, " that there should be peace, amity, and friendship between the two crowns and their respective subjects in all parts of the world." Before this period, the fovereigns of Spain had not only encouraged, but openly avowed, the exercise of perpetual hostility on the ships and subjects of all the nations of Europe, that were or might be found in any part of the new hemisphere; arrogantly assuming to themfelves a right not only to all the territories which their own fubjects had discovered there, but claiming also the sole and exclusive privilege of navigating the American feas (c).

PRETENSIONS

(c) In the reign of James I. within two years after the conclusion of a peace between England and Spain, which faved the Spanish monarchy from absolute destruction, Sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter dated from Madrid in May 1606, informs the Earl of Salisbury, that Don Lewis Firardo, a Spanish admiral, having met with certain English ships laden with corn and bound to Seville, " took the masters,

PRETENSIONS fo exorbitant, which violated alike the laws of nature and nations, were refifted by every maritime ftate that felt itself concerned in the iffue: by the English particularly, who had already planted colonies in Virginia, Bermudas, St. Christopher's and Barbadoes; territories some of which Spain had not even discovered, and none of which had she ever occupied. Thus actual war, and war in all its horrors, prevailed between the subjects of Spain in the new world, and those of the several other nations who ventured thither; while, at the same time, peace

and first fet their necks in the stocks. He afterwards removed them into his own ship, and there, with his own hands, did as much to their legs; reviling them, and calling them hereticks, Lutheran dogs, and enemies of Christ, threatening to hang them; and in conclusion robbed them of what he thought fit." See Winwood, vol. ii. p. 143-It appears, by fubsequent letters preserved in the same collection. that Cornwallis, complaining to the Duke of Lerma, the minister of Spain, of Firardo's conduct, particularly in fending to the gallies fome English mariners, whom he had made prisoners in the West Indies, was told by that minister "that Firardo should be called to account, not (adds the Duke) for fending the men to the gallies, but for not having hanged them up, as he ought to have done." Sir Walter Raleigh, some time afterwards, in a letter to King James, fpeaks of it as a well-known fact, that the Spaniards, in another instance, had murdered twenty-fix Englishmen, tying them back to back and then cutting their throats, even after they had traded with them a whole month, and when the English went ashore in full confidence, and without fo much as one fword among them. See Raleigh's Works by Birch, vol. ii. p. 376.

N 3 apparently

BOOK apparently subsisted between the parent states

· in Europe.

To fecure to the English an uninterrupted intercourse with their settlements above mentioned, was one great object of the treaty of 1630. It feems indeed to have been more immediately founded on a remarkable instance of Spanish perfidy, which had recently happened in the island of St. Christopher; for the court of Spain having, towards the latter end of the year 1629, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four ships of force, and fifteen frigates, under the command of Don Frederick de Toledo, oftenfibly to attack the Dutch fettlement in Brasil, secretly ordered the admiral to proceed in the first place to the island I have mentioned (which, although the Spaniards had indeed first discovered it 130 years before, they had never once occupied) and rout out from thence both the English and French, who at that time held a joint and peaceable possession.

NEITHER the French, nor English, nor both together, were strong enough to oppose such an enemy. The French planters took resuge in the neighbouring island of Antegua, and the English sled to the mountains; from whence they sent deputies to treat for a surrender; but the haughty Spaniard required and obtained unconditional submission; and, having selected

out

out of the English settlers fix hundred of the CHAP. ablest men, whom he condemned to the mines, he ordered all the rest (confisting chiefly of women and children) instantly to quit the island, in fome English veffels which he had feized at Nevis, under pain of death. He then laid waste all the fettlements within his reach, and having reduced the country to a defart, proceeded on his voyage.

IT might be supposed that the treaty of 1630, prevented fuch enormities in future; but in violation of all that is folemn and facred among Christian states, and to the disgrace of human nature, the Spaniards, eight years only after the affair of St. Christopher's, attacked a fmall English colony which had taken possession of the little unoccupied Island of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the fword: they even hanged up fuch as came in and furrendered themselves, on the promise of mercy, after the first attack.

THE unhappy monarch at that time on the throne of England, was too deeply engaged in contests with his subjects at home, to be able to afford protection to his colonists abroad; and those contests terminating at length in a civil war, the Spaniards proceeded in the same career with impunity; treating all the British subjects, whom they found in the West Indies, as intruders and pirates. In the year 1635, the English and

N 4

Dutch

BOOK Dutch had jointly taken possession of Santa Cruz, which before that time was wholly unpeopled and deferted. Disputes afterwards arising between the new fettlers, the English took arms and became fole masters of the Island. In 1650 the Spaniards landed there, and without the smallest provocation, exterminated every inhabitant that fell into their hands, murdering, as at Tortuga, even the women and children. As usual with this revengeful nation, they conquered only to defolate; for, having deftroyed all the people they could feize, they laid wafte and then deferted the Island, and when some of the Dutch nation, in consequence of fuch desertion, took posfession a second time, the Spaniards returned and treated them as they had treated the English.

OF their cruelties towards the subjects of foreign states, even such as were forced on their coafts in diffress, the inftances were without number. Their treatment of the failors was as barbarous and inhuman, as their pretences for feizing their ships were commonly groundless and unjust. The very mercies of the Spaniards were cruel; for if, in some few instances, they forebore to inflict immediate death on their prisoners, they fentenced them to a worse punishment; condemning them to work in the mines of IT Mexico for life (d).

⁽d) The Spaniards, after the death of Cromwell, revived these practices, and continued them to our own times. About

It is evident, from the numerous schemes and CHAP. propofals for attacking the Spaniards, which were presented to Cromwell on his elevation to the protectorate, that the English in general, had a deep and just fense of the wrongs which they sustained from the bigotry, avarice, and cruelty of the Spanish nation.—We may furely conclude, that applications of fuch a nature could not have been made to the supreme executive magistrate, with-

About the year 1680, they landed on the Island of Providence, one of the Bahamas, and totally destroyed the English fettlement there. The governor (Mr. Clark) they took with them to Cuba, in irons, and put him to death by torture. Oldmixon, who wrote "The British Empire in America," was informed by Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clark's fucceffors, that the Spaniards roafted Clark on a spit. The infolence and brutality of the commanders of the Spanish guarda-costas, in the days of Walpole, are remembered by many persons now living; and perhaps there are those alive who were present when Captain Jenkins gave that remarkable evidence to the house of commons, which it would be thought might have animated every British heart to insist on exemplary vengeance. The case was this: - A Spanish commander, after rummaging this man's veffel for what he called contraband goods, without finding any, put Jenkins to the torture, and afterwards, without the smallest provocation, cut off one of his ears, telling him to carry it to the king of England his master. Jenkins had preserved the ear in a bottle, which he displayed to the House of Commons. Being asked by one of the members, what he thought or expected while in the hands of fuch a barbarian? "I recommended (he replied) my foul to God, and my cause to my country."

See Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates.

out

BOOK II.

out any pretence of injury received. To suppose that a body of the subjects of any civilized state, or that even any individual of found mind, would intrude into the national councils, and prefume to folicit a violation of the publick faith, and the commencement of hostilities towards a powerful flate and an ally, without any provocation, is to suppose a case which I believe never did occur in history, and which indeed it feems next to impossible should happen. Among other persons who presented memorials on this occasion, we find the names of Colonel Modyford and Thomas Gage. The former was one of the earliest and most enterprising planters of Barbadoes; and Gage had refided twelve years in New Spain in prieft's orders. He was brother of Sir Henry Gage, one of the Generals under Charles I. (e) and appears to have been a man of capacity and extensive observation.

In his memorial, which is preserved among the state papers of Thurloe, he enters fully into a justification of the measures which he recommends. "None in conscience (he observes) may better attempt such an expulsion of the Spaniards from those parts, than the English,

who

⁽e) This Sir Henry Gage was killed at the battle of Culham-Bridge, in 1644. He was ancestor of the late General Gage, by whom I was favoured with this account of Thomas Gage.

WEST INDIES.

who have been often expelled by them from our plantations; as from St. Christopher's, St. Martin's, from Providence and from Tortugas, where the English were inhumanly and most barbarously treated by the Spaniards, who to this day watch for their best advantage to cast us out of all our plantations, and fay that all the islands as well as the main belong to them. And in conscience it is lawful to cast that enemy or troublesome neighbour out of his dominions, that would, and hath attempted to cast us out of ours."-He then proceeds to demonstrate, that it is not a work of difficulty to diflodge the Spaniards from fome of their most valuable possessions, and recommends the first attack to be made on Hispaniola or Cuba; the former, he observes, " was the Spaniards' first plantation, and therefore it would be to them a bad omen to begin to lose that, which they first enjoyed." "This island (he adds) is not one quarter of it inhabited, and fo the more easy to take." - Gage, some years before, had published a book, which is now before me; entitled "A new Survey of the West Indies." It contains much curious information respecting the state of Spanish America, at the time that he refided there. In the dedication to Fairfax, General of the parliament's forces, he combats, with great strength of reasoning, the pretentions of the Spanish Crown to an exclusive

187

CHAP.

II.

BOOK II.

clusive right to the countries of the New World: "I know of no title," he observes, "that the " Spaniard hath (the Pope's donation excepted) " but force, which, by the fame title may be " repelled.—And, as to the first discovery, to me " it feems as little reason, that the sailing of " a Spanish ship upon the coast of India, should entitle the king of Spain to that country, as " the failing of an Indian or English ship upon " the coast of Spain, should entitle either the 44 Indians or English unto the dominion thereof. " No question but the just right or title to those countries, appertains to the natives them-" felves; who, if they should willingly and freely invite the English to their protection, what title foever they have in them, no doubt they may legally transfer to others. But, to end all disputes of this nature, since God hath given the earth to the fons of men to inhabit, and that there are many vast countries in those parts not yet inhabited, either by " Spaniard or Indian, why should my country-" men, the English, be debarred from making " use of that, which God, from all beginning, " did ordain for the benefit of mankind?"

THESE, or similar arguments, and a long list of Spanish depredations on the subjects of England, made without doubt a deep impression on the mind of Cromwell. It appears indeed

that

that the court of Spain, conscious of having CHAP. merited the feverest vengeance, foresaw an impending from, and endeavoured to avert it. We are told by Thurloe, that Cardenas the ambaffador, in a private audience, congratulated the Protector on his elevation to the government, "affuring him of the true and conftant friendship of his master, either in the condition he then flood, or that if he would go a ftep further, and take upon him the crown, his mafter would venture the crown of Spain to defend him in it." These general discourses came afterwards to particular propositions; which Cromwell received with a coldness that alarmed the ambaffador: who then defired that former treaties of alliance between the two kingdoms might be renewed, as the first step towards a nearer union. It does not appear that Cromwell had any objection to this proposition. That he fought to involve the nation in an unprovoked and unneceffary war with Spain, or, as Ludlow expresses it, that "he meant to engage those men in distant services, who otherwise were ready to join in any party against him at home," though it has been confidently afferted, has been afferted against clear and fubstantial evidence. He demanded, it is true, satisfaction for past, and security against future injuries; and he appointed commissioners

190

BOOK II. missioners to treat with the Spanish ambassador thereupon; with whom several conferences were held, chiefly, says Thurloe, on the right interpretation of the treaty of 1630.—The result of those conferences, which I shall give in Thurloe's own words, affords so full and clear a justification of the Protector's subsequent proceedings, that no excuse can be offered for those historians by whom this evidence has been wilfully suppressed.

THE chief difficulties (observes Thurloe) were the following, " 1st. touching the West Indies, " the debate whereof was occasioned upon the " first article of the aforesaid treaty of 1630, " whereby it is agreed, that there should be " peace, amity, and friendship between the two " kings and their respective subjects in all parts " of the world, as well in Europe as elsewhere. "Upon this it was shewn, that in contravention " of this article, the English were treated by the " Spaniards as enemies, wherever they were met " in America, though failing to and from their " own plantations, and infifted that fatisfaction " was to be given in this, and a good founda-"tion of friendship laid in those parts for the " future, between their respective subjects (the " English there being very considerable, and " whose fafety and interest the government here " ought

ought to provide for) or elfe there could be no CHAP.

" folid and lasting peace between the two states

" in Europe.

" THE fecond difference was touching the " inquisition, &c .- To these two, Don Alonso

" was pleafed to answer; that to ask a liberty

" from the inquisition, and free failing in the

"West Indies, was to ask his master's two eyes; " and that nothing could be done in those

" points, but according to the practices of former " times."

" THEN it came into debate, before Oliver " and his council, with which of these crowns

(France or Spain) an alliance was to be chosen.

" Oliver himself was for war with Spain, at least

" in the West Indies, if satisfaction were not given

" for the past damages, and things well settled for

" the future. And most of the council went the

" fame way."

From the facts and recital which I have thus given, it is apparent that the Spaniards not only were the first aggresfors, but had proceeded to those hostilities against the subjects of England, which are unjustifiable even in a state of actual war; and, although the outrages complained of, were fuch as the most infignificant flate in the world would not have tamely fubmitted to, from the most powerful; yet did Cromwell.

H.

HISTORY OF THE

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BOOK Cromwell, in feeking redrefs, display his regard to justice by his moderation and temper. He demanded, it is true, reparation for past injuries, and fecurity against future; but he did not order reprifals to be made, until his demand was rejected, and until he was plainly told, that the fame hostile line of conduct which the Spaniards had hitherto purfued towards the English in America should be persisted in. Now, as Blome well observes, on this occasion, " war " must needs be justifiable, when peace is not allowable."

THE course of my work would now bring me to a detail of the Protector's measures in consequence of his appeal to force; the equipment of a powerful armanent, its miscarriage at Hispaniola, and success at Jamaica; but of all these transactions a very accurate and circumflantial narrative has already been given in the history of Jamaica by Mr. Long; to whose account I cannot hope to add perspicuity or force. Referring the reader, therefore, to that valuable work, for fatisfactory information in these particulars, I shall conclude this chapter with an account of the state of Jamaica, its inhabitants and productions, as it was found by the English forces on its capture in May 1655; observing only, and I mention the circumstance with a regret in which I am

am fure the reader will participate; that Gage, CHAP. who planned and embarked in the expedition, perished in it!

THE whole number of white inhabitants on the island, including women and children, did not exceed fifteen hundred. Penn, in his examination before the Protector's council, on the 12th of September 1655, states them at twelve or fourteen hundred only, of whom he fays about five hundred men were in arms when the English landed. It is remarkable however that Blome, who compiled a fhort account of Jamaica so early as 1672, avers that the town of St. Jago de la Vega confifted of two thousand houses, two churches, two chapels and an abbey. There must therefore have happened at some period a wonderful diminution in the number of the white inhabitants, and the expulsion of the Portuguese settlers, as related by this author, appears the more probable. Blome perhaps has given an exaggerated account of the number of the houses; but sufficient evidence remained, until within these few years, of the buildings confecrated to divine worship, particularly of the two churches and the abbey.

OF the other principal fettlements, the chief appears to have been at Port Caguay, fince named by the English Port Royal; but though it was next in consequence to St. Jago, it was Vol. I. probably

воок probably nothing more than an inconfiderable hamlet, established for the purpose of some small traffick with the ships bound from Hispaniola to the continent. Its subsequent rise and extensive prosperity, its deplorable wickedness and fatal catastrophe, are circumstances too well known to be repeated (f).

To the westward of Caguay was the port of Esquivel (Puerta de Esquivella) so called, I prefume, in honour of the governor of that name. This port feems indeed to have been almost deferted at the time of the conquest in 1655, the Spaniards giving the preference to Caguay; but it was still reforted to by the galleons, as a place of shelter during the hurricane months, and, from its ancient reputation, the English named it Old Harbour.

(f) The following fingular infcription appears on a tombstone, at Green-Bay, adjoining the Apostles' Battery, near this town.

"DIEU SUR TOUT.

" Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy, Efq. who departed this life, at Port Royal, the 22d December 1736, aged eighty. He was born at Montpellier, in France, but left that country for his religion, and came to fettle in this island, where he was swallowed up in the great earthquake, in the year 1692, and by the providence of God, was by another shock thrown into the fea, and miraculoufly faved by fwimming, until a boat took him up. He lived many years after, in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death." FROM

FROM Old Harbour to Punto Negrillo, the CHAP. western point of the island, the sea-coast was chiefly in favanna, abounding in horned cattle; but there does not appear to have been any fettlement in all that great extent of country, except a fmall hamlet called Oriftan, of which however the exact fituation cannot now be afcertained.

RETURNING eaftward, to the north of Port Caguay was the Hato de Liguany; presenting to the harbour an extensive plain or favanna, covered with cedar and other excellent timber. This part of the country was also abundantly flored with horned cattle and horses, which ran wild in great numbers; and the first employment of the English troops was hunting and flaughtering the cattle, for the fake of the hides and tallow, which foon became an article of export. It was supposed by Sedgewicke, that the foldiers had killed 20,000 in the course of the first four months after their arrival; and as to horses, "they were in fuch plenty (fays Good-" fon) that we accounted them the vermin of the " country (g)."

EASTWARD

(g) "Colonel Barry's house all galleried round (now called Cavaliers) was formerly, when the Spaniards poffessed the island, the only place in Liguany inhabited; a rich

воок п. EASTWARD of Liguany was the Hato, by fome called Ayala, by others Yalos, and now wrote Yallahs; a place, faith Venables "which hath much commodity of planting or erecting of fugar engines of water, by reason of two convenient rivers running through it fit for that purpose." Next to Ayala was the Hato called Morante. This Morante (faith Venables) "is a large and plentiful Hato, being four leagues in length, consisting of many small savannas, and has wild cattle and hogs in very great plenty, and ends at the Mine, which is at the Cape or Point of Morante itself, by which toward the north is the port Antonio."

SUCH is the account of Jamaica as transmitted in General Venables's letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated 13th June 1655. The reader will perceive that no mention is made of the northern side of the island; which gives room to conclude, as was undoubtedly the fact, that it was one entire desert, from east to west, totally uncultivated and uninhabited.

Or the inland parts, it appears from Sloane, that Guanaboa was famous for its cacao-trees,

widow had here a fugar-work, and abundance of cattle in the favannas, near 40,000." (Sloane, vol. i. Introd. p. 73.)

The mountains of Liguany were supposed also to contain mines both of gold and copper.

and

and the low lands of Clarendon for plantations CHAP. of tobacco.

UPON the whole, although the Spaniards had possessed the island a century and a half, not one hundredth part of the plantable land was in cultivation when the English made themselves masters of it. Yet the Spanish settlers had no fooner exterminated, in the manner we have feen, the original proprietors, than they had recourse, with their neighbours of Hispaniola, to the introduction of flaves from Africa. We are told that the number of negroes in the island, at the time of its capture, nearly equalled that of the Whites. It is not easy to discover to what ufeful purpose the labour of these Blacks was applied. The floth and penury of the Spanish planters, when the English landed, were extreme. Of the many valuable commodities which Jamaica has fince produced in fo great abundance, fome were altogether unknown, and of the rest the inhabitants cultivated no more than were fufficient for their own expenditure. Their principal export, besides cacao, consisted of hogs-lard and hides. The fale of these articles, and fupplying the few ships that touched at their ports with provisions, in barter for European manufactures, constituted the whole of their commerce; a commerce which the favages of Madagascar conduct with equal ability and 0 3 fuccess.

II.

воок п.

They poffeffed nothing of the elegancies of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of those gratifications which, in civilized states, are considered as necessary to the comfort and convenience of it. They were neither polished by focial intercourse, nor improved by education; but paffed their days in gloomy langour, enfeebled by floth and depressed by poverty. Having at the fame time but little or no connection with Europe, nor the means of fending their children thither for education (a circumstance that might have introduced among them, from time to time, fome portion of civility and fcience) they had been for many years in a state of progreffive degeneracy, and would probably, in a short time, have expiated the guilt of their ancestors, by falling victims themselves to the vengeance of their flaves. Time indeed had wrought a wonderful change in the manners and dispositions of all the Spanish Americans. must however be acknowledged, that if they possessed not the abilities of their forefathers, they were unstained with their crimes. If we find among them no traces of that enterprifing genius; that unconquerable perseverance, that contempt of toil, danger, and death, which fo wonderfully diftinguished the great adventurers, who first explored and added a new hemisphere to the Spanish dominion; we must own at the fame

fame time, that they were happily free from their CHAP. guilty ambition; their remorfeless fanaticism, and frantick cruelty. But, whatever was their character, it is impossible to justify the hard terms imposed by the English commanders on the poor fettlers in Jamaica, in requiring them to deliver up their flaves and effects, and quit the country altogether. They pleaded that they were born in the island, and had neither relations, friends, nor country elfewhere, and they declared that they were refolved to perifh in the woods, rather than beg their bread in a foreign foil. This was their final answer to the propositions of Venables, the English General, nor could they be brought again to enter into any treaty. The refistance they afterwards made against the efforts of our troops to expel them from the island, may furnish this important leffon to conquerors—that even victory has its limits, and that injustice and tyranny frequently defeat their own purposes (h).

(h) The articles of capitulation first agreed on, which may be feen in Burchet's Naval History, are fusiciently liberal. By these all the inhabitants (some few individuals excepted) had their lives and effects granted them, and permission to remain in the country; but on the 4th of June, Venables informs the Lord Protector, that the inhabitants having broken their promifes and engagements, he had feized the Governor and other chief persons, and 0 4 compelled

BOOK II. compelled them to subscribe new articles.—What those were he does not say. It appears, however, that it was slipulated by one of them, that the Spanish part of the inhabitants should leave the Island; and it seems probable that this measure was promoted by the intrigues of the Portuguese; for, in a subsequent letter, Venables writes thus: "The Portugueses we hope to make good subjects of; the Spaniards we shall remove." The particulars related in the text, concerning the effect of this determination on the minds of those poor people, are given on the authority of a paper signed, J. Daniel, dated Jamaica 3d of June, and preserved among Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 504.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the English in Jamaica after its capture. - Col. D'Oyley declared president. -Discontents and mortality among the army.— Vigorous exertions of the Protector.—Col. Brayne appointed commander in chief .- His death .-D'Oyley reassumes the government.—Defeats the Spanish forces, which had invaded the island from Cuba.—His wife and steady administration. -Bucaniers.—Conciliating conduct of Charles II. on his restoration.—First establishment of a regular government in Jamaica.—Lord Windsor's appointment.—Royal proclamation.—American treaty in 1670.—Change of measures on the part of the crown.-New constitution devised for Jamaica.—Earl of Carlisle appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing the new system.—Successful opposition of the assembly.— Subsequent disputes respecting the confirmation of their laws.—Terminated by the revenue act of 1728.

A FTER the capture of the island, until the re- CHAP. storation of Charles II. the English in Jamaica remained under military jurisdiction. Cromwell had nominated Winflow, Serle and Butler, to act

202

BOOK II.

as commissioners, with Penn and Venables, intending, I presume, to constitute by this arrangement a council of state, whose authority might mitigate the rigour of the law-martial; but the two generals, with commissioner Butler, returning to England without leave, the fole command of the army devolved on Major General Fortescue, and of the fleet on Admiral Goodson. Nevertheless it was the intention of Cromwell to have established a civil government in the island on very liberal principles. Soon after he received the account of its capture, he issued a proclamation declaratory of that purpose, and on the return to England of Commissioner Butler, he sent over Major Sedgewicke to fupply his place. Sedgewicke arrived in Jamaica in October, but Winflow and Serle having in the mean time fallen victims to the climate, he was unwilling to act under the Protector's commission without further affiftance. An inftrument of government was thereupon framed, and fubscribed, on the eighth of October 1655, by Sedgewicke and the principal officers, who thereby constituted themselves a fupreme executive council for managing the general affairs of the island; of which Fortescue was declared prefident, and he dying foon afterwards, Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the next in command, was chosen to preside in his room. But the fituation of the troops required martial

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CHAP.

Spaniards and fugitive negroes continued to harafs the foldiers with perpetual alarms. Men were daily killed by enemies in ambush. The Spanish blacks had separated themselves from their late masters, and murdered, without mercy, such of the English as rambling about the country fell into their hands. They were even so audacious as to venture by night to attack the English troops in their quarters, and to set fire to some of the houses in which they were lodged, in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, the capital.

Bur the Protector was determined to maintain his conquest, and seemed anxiously bent on peopling the island. While recruits were raising in England, he directed the governors of Barbadoes, and the other British colonies to windward (which at that time were exceedingly populous) to encourage fome of their planters to remove to Jamaica, on the affurance of their having lands affigned them there. He dispatched an agent to New England on a fimilar errand, as well as to engage the people of the northern provinces to furnish provisions to the newly-acquired territory. He gave inftructions to his fon Henry Cromwell, who was Major General of the forces in Ireland, to engage two or three thousand young persons of both sexes from thence, to become settlers in Jamaica; and he corresponded with

BOOK the lord Broghill, who commanded at Edinburgh, on the best means of inducing as great a number to emigrate for the fame purpose from Scotland.

In the mean while the old foldiers within the island, disliking their situation, and conceiving, from the preparations of the government at home, that the Protector had thoughts of confining them to Jamaica for life, became diffatisfied and feditious. Other causes indeed concurred to awaken among them fuch a spirit of discontent as approached nearly to mutiny. Having at first found in the country cattle and swine in great abundance, they had destroyed them with fuch improvidence and wantonness of profusion, as to occasion a scarcity of fresh provisions in a place which had been represented as abounding in the highest degree. The chief commanders apprehending this event, and finding that the bread and flour which arrived from England were oftentimes fpoilt by the length of the voyage and the heat of the climate, had urged the foldiers, with great earnestness, to cultivate the foil, and raife, by their own industry, Indian corn, pulse and cassavi, fusficient for their maintenance. They endeavoured to make them fensible that supplies from England must neceffarily be cafual and uncertain; and, perfuafion failing, they would have compelled them by

force

force to plant the ground; but the fubaltern CHAP. officers concurred with the private men, abfolutely refusing to contribute in the smallest degree to their own prefervation by the means recommended. They were poffeffed of a paffionate longing to return to England, and fondly imagined that the continual great expence of maintaining fo large a body of troops at fo great a distance, would induce the Protector to relinquish his conquest. They even rooted up the provisions which had been planted and left by the Spaniards. "Our foldiers (writes Sedgewicke) have destroyed all forts of provisions and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them wherefoever they go. Dig or plant, they neither will nor can, but are determined rather to starve than work." A fcarcity, approaching to a famine, was at length the consequence of fuch misconduct, and it was accompanied with its usual attendants, disease and contagion. Perhaps there are but few descriptions in history wherein a greater variety of horrors are accumulated than in the letters addreffed on this occasion by Sedgewicke and the other principal officers, to the government at home, which are preserved among Thurloe's state papers. Such was the want of food, that fnakes, lizards and other vermin, were eagerly eaten, together with unripe fruits and · noxious

BOOK noxious vegetables. This unwholesome diet concurred with other circumstances to produce an epidemick dysentery, which raged like the plague. For a confiderable time 140 men died weekly, and Sedgewicke himself at length perished in the general carnage.

> THE Protector, as foon as he had received information of the diffracted and calamitous state of the colony, exerted himself, with his usual vigour, to afford it relief. Provisions and necessaries of all kinds were shipped without delay; and Cromwell, diftruftful it is faid of D'Oyley's attachment, fuperfeded him, by granting a commission of commander in chief of Jamaica, to Col. Brayne, governor of Lochabar in Scotland. This gentleman, with a fleet of transports, and a reinforcement of one thousand recruits, sailed from Port Patrick, the beginning of October 1656, and arrived at Jamaica in December following. Col. Humphreys with his regiment, confifting of 830 men, had landed, fome time before, from England; and Stokes, governor of Nevis, with 1,500 persons collected in the Windward Islands, had reached Jamaica, and begun an establishment near to the Port of Morant, where some of Stoke's descendants, of the same name, possess at this day confiderable property. Another regiment, commanded by Col. Moore, arrived in the

the beginning of 1657 from Ireland, and some industrious planters followed soon afterwards from New England and Bermudas.

BRAYNE's first accounts are very discouraging. He complains that he found all things in the utmost consusion; that violent animosities substituted among the troops; and, above all, that there was a great want of men cordial to the business; such is his expression. He desires a remittance of £. 5,000, to enable him to erect fortifications, and a further supply of provisions for six months; strenuously recommending, at the same time, a general liberty of trade between the island and all nations in amity with England; an indulgence which he thinks would speedily encourage planters enough to settle in, and improve, the country.

But Brayne, though a man of fagacity and penetration, wanted firmness and fortitude. The troops still continued unhealthy, and sickness spreading rapidly amongst the new comers, Brayne, alarmed for his own safety, became as little cordial to the business of settling as the rest. He prayed most earnestly for permission to return to England. In the mean while, by way (as he writes) of precaution against a sever, he weakened himself to a great degree by copious bloodletting; a practice which probably proved fatal to him; for he died at the end of ten months after his arrival. A sew days before his death,

CHAP.

BOOK

death, finding himself in imminent danger, he fent to D'Oyley, and formally transferred his authority to that officer. D'Oyley happily poffeffed all those qualifications in which Brayne was deficient; yet he entered on his charge with reluctance; for having already been roughly fuperfeded by the Protector, he expected perhaps fuch another difmission. In the letters which he addreffed to Cromwell and Fleetwood, on the event of Brayne's decease, he expresses himfelf with propriety and dignity. "Your highnefs," he observes to Cromwell, " is not to be told how difficult it is to command an army without pay, and I tremble to think of the difcontents I am to struggle withal, until the return of your commands; though I bless God I have the affection of the people here, beyond any that ever yet commanded them; and a spirit of my own not to fink under the weight of unreasonable discontents." To Fleetwood he writes, "I would have refused to accept of this command, if I could have quitted with honour and faithfulness to my country; but I am now refolved to go through, until I receive further orders from his highness, or a discharge from him, which I humbly defire your lordship to effect for me. Honours and riches are not the things I aim at. I bless God I have a foul much above them. Pray, my lord, decline your greatness, and command

mand your fecretary to give me an answer; for CHAP. if I were difrobed of all my titles of honour and great command, yet you know that I am a gentleman, and a faithful friend to my country."

IT was fortunate for his country that his refignation was not accepted, and that the Protector, fensible at length of the ability and merit of this brave man, confirmed him in his command. To the exertions of D'Oyley, feconded and supported by the affection which his foldiers, under all their difficulties and diffresses, manifested on every occasion towards him, we owe at this day the poffession of Jamaica; the recapture whereof by the Spaniards, towards the end of the year 1657, became to them an object of great national concern. Its defenceless state, the diffatisfaction of the English troops, and the exertions making by Cromwell to afford them relief, as well as to augment their numbers, led the governor of Cuba to believe, that the juncture was then arrived for retrieving the honour of his country, by the restoration of this island to its dominion. Having communicated to the viceroy of Mexico, a scheme built on this idea, and received the fanction and support of that officer, he made preparations for a formidable invafion, and appointed Don Christopher Sasi Arnoldo, who had been governor of Jamaica at the time Vol. I.

BOOK of its capture, to take the conduct and com-

mand of the enterprize.

On the eighth of May 1658, thirty companies of Spanish infantry landed at Rio Nuevo, a small harbour on the north fide of the island. were provided with provisions for eight months, with ordnance and ammunition of all kinds, and they brought engineers and artificers for erecting extensive fortifications. Twelve days had elapsed before D'Oyley knew of their landing, and fix weeks more intervened by the time that he was able to approach them by fea. During this interval, the Spaniards had established themselves in great force; but D'Oyley at length reaching Rio Nuevo, with feven hundred and fifty of his best-disciplined foldiers, attacked them in their entrenchments; carried by affault a strong fortress which they had erected on an eminence over the harbour; and compelled the late unfortunate governor to get back as he could to Cuba, after the loss of all his stores, ordnance, ammunition and colours, and of one half the forces which he had brought with him. Few victories have been more decifive; nor does history furnish many instances of greater military skill and intrepidity, than those which were displayed by the English on this occasion.

AFTER fo fignal a defeat, the Spaniards made no

CHAP.

no effort of consequence to reclaim Jamaica. A party of the ancient Spanish inhabitants, however, still lurked in the woods, and Sasi, their governor, had returned to share their fortunes, but a body of their fugitive negroes having surrendered to D'Oyley on the promise of freedom, these wretches informed him where their late masters were sheltered; and joined some troops that were sent in pursuit of them: thus the poor Spaniards were entirely routed, and the sew that survived, by escaping to Cuba, took their last farewel of a country, on their fond attachment to which, it is not possible to reslect without emotions of pity.

By the wife, steady and provident administration of D'Oyley, the affairs of the island began at length to wear a more promising aspect. The army was now become tolerably healthy. Some successful efforts in raising Indian corn, cassavi, tobacco, and cacao, had given encouragement to a spirit of planting. The arrival of several merchant ships, for the purpose of traffick, contributed still further to the promotion of industry, and, on the whole, the dawn of future prosperity began to be visible.

But, as hath been truly observed by a well-informed author (a), nothing contributed so

(a) European Settlements.

P 2

much

BOOK II. much to the fettlement and opulence of this island in early times, as the refort to it of those men called Bucaniers; the wealth which they acquired having been fpeedily transferred to people whose industry was employed in cultivation or commerce. Of that fingular affociation of adventurers it were to be wished that a more accurate account could be obtained than has hitherto been given: I will just observe in this place, that fuch of them as belonged to Jamaica were not those piratical plunderers and publick robbers which they are commonly reprefented. A Spanish war, commenced on the justest grounds on the part of the English, still prevailing in the West Indies, they were furnished with regular letters of marque and reprifal. After the reftoration of Charles II. the king ordered that they should receive every encouragement and protection; nor, if we may believe Sir William Beeston (b), did his majesty disdain to become a partner in the bucaniering expeditions. It is indeed related, that he continued to exact and receive a share of the booty, even after he had publickly iffued orders for the suppression of this species of hostility (c).

PEOPLE

⁽b) MS. Journal penes me.

⁽c) The favour extended by the king to Henry Morgan, the most celebrated of the English Bucaniers (a man indeed of an elevated

CHAP.

PEOPLE of all professions, and from all parts of the British empire, now resorted to Jamaica. The confusions which overspread England after the death of Cromwell, impelled many to feek for fafety and quiet in the Plantations. Some of those men who had distinguished themselves by their activity, in bringing their unhappy monarch to the scaffold, considered this island as a sure place of refuge. Foreseeing, from the temper which began to prevail amongst all ranks of people in England, especially towards the beginning of the year 1660, that the nation was united in its wishes for the re-establishment of the ancient frame of government, they hoped to find that fafety in a colony composed of Cromwell's adherents, which they were apprehensive would shortly be denied them at home (d).

Bur

elevated mind and invincible courage) arose doubtless, in a great measure, from the good understanding that prevailed between them in the copartnership that I have mentioned. When the Earl of Carlisle returned from Jamaica, Morgan was appointed deputy-governor and lieutenant-general in his absence; and, proceeding himself, at a subsequent period, to England, he was received very graciously, and had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by his sovereign. I hope, therefore, and indeed have good reason to believe, that all or most of the heavy accusations which have been brought against this gallant commander, of outrageous cruelty towards his Spanish captives, had no foundation in truth.

(d) Some of those men who had fat as judges at the trial P 3 of

214

BOOK II. But although men of this stamp were silently permitted to fix themselves in the island, the general body both of the army and people caught the reviving slame of loyalty, and sincerely participated in the national triumph on the king's return. The restored monarch, on his part, not only overlooked their past transgressions, but prudently forebore also to awaken their jealously, by enquiring after any of those obnoxious characters to whom they had afforded protection. To conciliate the affections of the colonists, whose valour had annexed so important an appendage to his dominions, the king even confirmed their favourite General in his command;

of Charles I. are faid to have become peaceable fettlers here, and to have remained after the Restoration unnoticed and unmolested. Waite and Blagrove are reckoned of the number, and General Harrison was earnestly pressed to follow their example; but, furtably to his character, he gloried in the ignominious death that awaited him. After his execution, his children fixed their fortunes in this island, where fome of his descendants, in the semale line, are still living, in good credit, in the parish of St. Andrew. It is reported alfo, that the remains of President Bradshaw were interred in Jamaica; and I observe in a splendid book, entitled Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, an epitaph which is faid to have been inscribed on a cannon that was placed on the Prefident's grave; but it is, to my own knowledge, a modern composition. President Bradshaw died in London, in November 1659, and had a magnificent funeral in Westminster abbey. A son of Scott, the Regicide, fixed himself in this island, and fettled the plantation called Y S in St. Elizabeth.

appointing

appointing D'Oyley, by a commission which CHAP. bore date the thirteenth of February 1661, chief governor of the island. He was ordered. at the same time, to release the army from military fubordination, to erect courts of judicature, and, with the advice of a council to be elected by the inhabitants, to pass laws suitable to the exigencies of the colony.

This memorable appointment of General D'Oyley, with a council elected by the people, may be confidered as the first establishment of a regular civil government in Jamaica, after the English had become masters of it; but, in order to create full confidence of fecurity in the minds of the inhabitants, further measures were necessary on the part of the sovereign; and they were readily adopted. D'Oyley desiring to be recalled, the Lord Windfor was nominated in his room, and directed to publish, on his arrival, a royal and gracious proclamation, wherein, for the purpose of encouraging the settlement of the country, allotments of land were offered under fuch terms as were usual in other plantations, with fuch farther convenient and fuitable privileges and immunities, as the grantees should reasonably require. The proclamation then proceeds in the words following:-- "And we do further publish " and declare, that all the children of our na-" tural-born subjects of England, to be born in P 4 " Jamaica,

- BOOK " Jamaica, SHALL, FROM THEIR RSPECTIVE
 - " BIRTHS, BE REPUTED TO BE, AND SHALL
 - " BE, FREE DENIZENS OF ENGLAND, AND
 - " SHALL HAVE THE SAME PRIVILEGES, TO
 - " ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES, AS OUR
 - " FREE-BORN SUBJECTS OF ENGLAND; and
 - "that all free persons shall have liberty, with-
 - " out interruption, to transport themselves
 - " and their families, and any of their goods,
 - " (except only coin and bullion) from any of
 - " our dominions and territories to the faid
 - " island of Jamaica, &c (e)."——These important
 - (e) As the reader may be defirous of seeing this proclamation at large, it is here inferted verbatim.
 - " Decima Septima Pars Patentium de Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Tertio decimo. Car. 2di. 13tio.
 - A PROCLAMACON, for the encouraging of Planters in his Majesty's island of Jamaica in the West-Indies.

WEE being fully fatisfied that our island of Jamaica, being a pleasant and most fertile soyle, and scituate comodiously for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's bleffing, to bee a greate benefitt and advantage to this, and other our kingdomes and dominions, have thought fitt, for encourageing of our subjects, as well such as are already upon the said island, as all others that shall transport themselves thither, and reside and plant there, to declare and publish, and wee doe hereby declare and publish, that thirtie acres of improveable lands shall bee granted and allotted, to every such person, male or female, being twelve years old, or upwards, who now refides, or within two years next enfuing, shall reside upon the faid

5.

tant declarations have always been justly confidered, by the inhabitants of Jamaica, as a folemn recognition and confirmation by the crown, of those rights which are inherent in,

y.

and unalienable from, the person of a subject of England, and of which, so long as he preserves

faid island, and that the same shall bee assigned and sett out

by the governor and councell, within fix weekes next after notice shall bee given, in writing, subscribed by such planter or planters, or fome of them in behalfe of the rest, to the governor or fuch officer as hee shall appoint in that behalfe, fignifying their resolutions to plant there, and when they intend to bee on the place; and in case they doe not goe thither, within fix months then next enfuing, the faid allotment shall be void, and free to bee affigned to any other planter, and that every person and persons to whom such assignment shall bee made, shall hold and enjoy the said lands, foe to bee affigned, and all houses, edifices, buildings and inclosures thereupon to bee built or made, to them and their heirs for ever, by and under fuch tenures as is usual in other plantations subject to us. Neverthelesse they are to bee obliged to ferve in armies upon any infurrection, mutiny, or forraine invasion, and that the faid affignments and allotments shall be made and confirmed under the publique seale of the faid ifland, with power to create any mannor or mannors, and with fuch convenient and fuitable priveledges and imunities as the grantee shall reasonably desire and require, and a draught of fuch affignment shall bee prepared by our learned councell in the lawe, and delivered to the governor to that purpose, and that all fishings and pischaries, and all copper, lead, tin, iron, coales and all other mines (except gold and filver) within fuch respective allotments shall bee enjoyed by the

grantees thereof, referving only a twentieth part of the product of the faid mines to our use. And wee doe further pub-

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HISTORY OF THE

BOOK II.

his allegiance, emigration for the benefit of the flate cannot, and furely ought not, to diveft him. Purfuant to, and in the spirit of the proclamation, the governor was instructed to call an assembly, to be indifferently chosen by the people at large, that they might pass laws for their own internal regulation and government; a privilege, which being enjoyed by such of their fellow subjects as remained within the realm, it is presumed they had an undoubted right to exercise, with this limitation only, that the laws which

lish and declare, that all children of any of our naturall-borne subjects of England, to bee borne in Jamaica, shall from their respective births, bee reputed to bee, and shall bee, free Denizens of England; and shall have the same priveledges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-borne subjects of England, and that all free persons shall have libertie without interruption, to transport themselves, and their families and any their goods (except onley coyne and bullion) from any our dominions and territories to the faid island of Jamaica. And wee doe ftrictly charge and command all planters, foldiers and others, upon the faid ifland, to yield obedience to the lawfull commands of our right trufty and welbeloved Thomas Lord Windsor, now our governor of our said island, and to every other governor thereof for the tyme being, under paine of our displeasure and such penalties as may bee inflicted thereupon. Given at our courte at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December. P'. ipm'. Regem.

This is a true copy of the original record remaining in the Chappla of the Rolls, having been examined by me

Henry Rooke, Cl' of the Rolls.

VERA-COPIA.

they

they should pass, were not subversive of their CHAP. dependance on the parent state (f).

CHAP.

To these several testimonies of royal justice and favour towards the new colonists, may be added the additional fecurity obtained for them by the American treaty, concluded and figned at Madrid in the month of June 1670. For, after the reftoration, doubts were raifed by the partizans of royalty, whether, as the elevation of Cromwell was adjudged an usurpation, the conquests which had been made under the fanction of his authority, could be rightfully maintained by a kingly government? Although nothing could well be more futile than these suggestions, it was nevertheless thought necessary to guard against the conclusions which Spain might deduce from them. This precaution partly gave rife to the feventh article of the treaty above referred to, which is conceived in the words following, viz. "The King of Great Britain, his " heirs and fucceffors, shall have, hold and " possess, for ever, with full right of sovereign

(f) His Majesty was likewise pleased to favour the island with a broad seal with the following arms, viz. a cross gules charged with five pine-apples in a field argent; supporters, two Indians plum'd and condaled; crest, an alligator vivant. The inscription in the orb,

Ecce alium Ramos porrexit in orbem Nec sterilis est crux.

" dominion

BOOK II.

- "dominion, property and poffession, all lands,
- " countries, islands, colonies and dominions
- " whatever, fituated in the West Indies, or any
- " part of America, which the faid king of Great
- "Britain and his subjects, do, at this present,
- " hold and poffefs; fo that in regard thereof, or
- " upon any colour or pretence whatever, nothing may or ought ever to be urged, nor any quef-
- may or ought ever to be urged, nor any quer-
- "tion or controversy moved concerning the
- " fame hereafter (g)."

HITHERTO, it must be admitted that the fovereign authority was properly exerted in defence of the just rights of the crown, and in securing to its distant subjects the enjoyment of their possessions; but unhappily Charles II. had neither steadiness nor integrity. About the period of the American treaty, a scheme having been formed by him, or his ministry, for subverting the liberties of the people at home, it is the less wonderful, that the privileges enjoyed by the colonists abroad, should have been regarded by the king with a jealousy, which, encreasing with the encrease of their numbers,

broke

⁽g) From this recital may be feen the folly of the very prevalent notion, that the fovereigns of Spain, or fome of their fubjects, still keep up pretentions to Jamaica, or claim property therein, as not having been formally ceded to the crown of England.

broke out at length into acts of open hostility CHAP. and violence towards them.

In the beginning of 1678, the ftorm fell on Jamaica. A new fystem of legislation was adopted for this island, founded nearly on the model of the Irish constitution under Poynings's act; and the Earl of Carlifle was appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing it. A body of laws was prepared by the privy council of England, among the reft a bill for fettling a perpetual revenue on the crown, which his lordship was directed to offer to the affembly, requiring them to adopt the whole code, without amendment or alteration. In future the heads of all bills (money bills excepted) were to be fuggested in the first instance by the governor and council, and transmitted to his majesty to be approved or rejected at home; on obtaining the royal confirmation, they were to be returned under the great feal in the shape of laws, and paffed by the general affembly; which was to be convened for no other purpose than that, and the business of voting the usual supplies; unless in consequence of special orders from England.

IF we reflect only on the distance of Jamaica from Great Britain, we may pronounce, without hefitation, that it was impossible for the colony to exist under such a constitution and fystem of government. What misconduct on the

part

222

BOOK part of the inhabitants, or what secret expectation on the part of the crown, originally gave birth to this project, it is now difficult to determine. The most probable opinion is this.—In the year 1663, the affembly of Barbadoes were prevailed on, by very unjustifiable means, as will hereafter be shewn, to grant an internal revenue to the crown, of 41 per cent. on the gross exported produce of that ifland for ever. It is not unlikely that the steady refusal of the Jamaica planters to burthen themselves and their posterity with a fimilar imposition, exciting the refentment of the king, first suggested the idea of depriving them of those conflitutional franchises which alone could give fecurity and value to their possessions. Happily for the present inhabitants, neither fecret intrigue nor undifguised violence were fuccessful. Their gallant ancestors transmitted to their posterity their estates unincumbered with fuch a tax, and their political rights unimpaired by the fystem of government attempted to be forced on them. " The affembly (fays Mr. Long) rejected the new constitution with indignation. No threats could frighten, no bribes could corrupt, nor arts nor arguments perfuade them to confent to laws that would enflave their posterity." Let me add, as a tribute of just acknowledgment to the noble efforts of this gentleman's great ancestor, Col.

Col. Long, that it was to him, Jamaica was prin- CHAP. cipally indebted for its deliverance. As chief judge of the island, and member of the council. he exerted, on this important occasion, the powers with which he was invefted, with fuch ability and fortitude, in defence of the people, as to baffle and finally overpower every effort to enflave them. The governor, after difmiffing him from the posts which he had filled with fuch honour to himself, and advantage to the publick, conveyed him a ftate prisoner to England. These despotick measures were ultimately productive of good. Col. Long, being heard before the king and privy council, pointed out with fuch force of argument, the evil tendency of the measures which had been pursued, that the English ministry reluctantly submitted. The affembly had their deliberative powers restored to them, and Sir Thomas Lynch, who had prefided in the island as lieutenant-governor from 1670 to 1674, very much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, was appointed captain-general and chief governor in the room of Lord Carlisse (h).

(h) I have subjoined, as an appendix to this book, "an hif-44 torical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica," wherein the particulars of Lord Carlisle's administration are detailed at large.—This historical account is now published for the first time, and cannot fail of proving extremely acceptable to the reader.

224

BOOK IT might have been hoped that all possible cause of future contest with the crown, on the question of political rights, was now happily obviated; but the event proved that this expectation was fallacious. Although the affembly had recovered the inestimable privilege of framing such laws for their internal government as their exigencies might require, of which doubtless themselves alone were competent to judge, and although it was not alledged that the laws which they had passed, as well before, as after the re-establishment of their rights, were repugnant to those of the mother-country, yet the royal confirmation of a great part of them had been constantly refused, and still continued to be withheld. It was indeed admitted, that the English who captured the island, carried with them as their birthright, the law of England as it then stood; but much of the English law was inapplicable to the fituation and condition of the new colonifts; and it was contended that they had no right to any statute of the British parliament, which had passed subsequent to their emigration, unless its provisions were specially extended to the colony by name. The courts of judicature within the island, had however, from necessity, admitted many fuch flatutes to be pleaded, and grounded several judgments and important determinations upon them; and the affembly had paffed

CHAP.

passed bills adopting several of the English statutes which did not otherwise bind the island; but several of those bills, when sent home for the royal confirmation, and those judgments and determinations of the courts of law, when brought by appeal before the king and council, though not disallowed, remained unconfirmed; and in this unsettled state, the affairs of Jamaica were suffered to remain for the space of sifty years.

THE true cause of such inflexibility on the part of the crown, was no other than the old ftory of revenue. For the purpose, as it was pretended, of defraying the expence of erecting and repairing fortifications, and for answering some other publick contingencies, the ministers of Charles II. had procured, as hath been related, from the affembly of Barbadoes, and indeed from most of the other British West Indian colonies, the grant of a perpetual internal revenue. The refusal of Jamaica, to consent to a similar establishment; the punishment provided for her contumacy, and the means of her deliverance, have already been flated; but it was found that the lenity of the crown in relinquishing the system of compulsion, was expected to produce that effect which tyranny had failed to accomplish. The English government claimed a return from the people of Jamaica, for having dropt an oppressive and pernicious project, as if it had actually conferred upon VOL. I.

BOOK them a positive and permanent benefit; a claim in which all the British ministers, from the restoration of King Charles, to the reign of George II. very cordially concurred.

> THE affembly however remained unconvinced. Among other objections, they pleaded that the money granted by the Island of Barbadoes was notoriously appropriated to purposes widely different from those for which it was expressly given; and they demanded some pledge, or security, against a similar misapplication, in case they should subject their country to a permament and irrevocable tax. The ministers refused to give any fatisfaction in this particular; and finding that the affembly were equally refolute to pass their fupply bills from year to year only, as usual, they advised the sovereign, from a spirit of vindictive policy, to wave the confirmation of the laws, and to fuffer the administration of justice in the island, to remain on the precarious footing that I have described.

Such was the actual fituation of Jamaica until the year 1728, when a compromife was happily effected. In that year, the Affembly confented to fettle on the crown a standing irrevocable revenue of f. 8,000 per annum, on certain conditions, to which the crown agreed, and of which the following are the principal:

Ift. THAT the quit-rents arising within the ifland

CHAP.

island (then estimated at £.1,460 per annum) should constitute a part of such revenue. 2dly. That the body of their laws should receive the royal assent. And, 3dly. That "all such laws "and statutes of England, as had been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received, as laws in the island, should be and continue laws of Jamaica for ever." The revenue act, with this important declaration therein, was accordingly passed; and its confirmation by the king, put an end to a contest no less difgraceful to the government at home, than injurious to the people within the island.

I HAVE thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as the fubject would admit, to trace the political conftitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity; but although its parentage and principles are British, it has been modified and occasionally regulated by many unforeseen events, and local circumstances. In its present form, and actual exercife, however, it so nearly resembles the fystem of government in the other British West Indian Islands, that one general description (which I referve for a fubsequent part of my work) will comprehend the whole. A minute detail of local occurrences and internal politicks, would not, I presume, be interesting to the general reader. The following are the only circumstances which appear to me to merit distinct notice, and I have

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reserved

BOOK referved the recital for this place, that the thread of the preceding narrative might continue unbroken.

> In the year 1687 Christopher Duke of Albemarle was appointed chief governor of Jamaica. This nobleman was the only furviving fon and heir of General Monk, who had restored Charles II. and I mention him principally as exhibiting a striking instance of the instability of human great-The father had been gratified with the highest rewards that a sovereign could bestow on a fubject; a dukedom, the garter, and a princely fortune; and the fon, reduced to beggary by vice and extravagance, was driven to the necessity of imploring bread from James II. The king, to be freed from his importunities, gave him the government of Jamaica; where, dying childless, a short time after his arrival, his honours were extinguished with his life. The noble duke lived long enough, however, to collect a confiderable fum of money for his creditors; for entering into partnership with Sir William Phipps, who had discovered the wreck of a Spanish Plate ship, which had been ftranded in 1659, on a shoal to the north-east of Hispaniola, they sent out sloops from Jamaica, provided with skilful divers, to fearch for the hidden treasure, and are said to have actually recovered twenty-fix tons of filver. The conduct of this noble governor, on his arri-

val,

CHAP.

val, affords many curious inflances of the arbitrary principles of the times: - Having called an affembly, his grace diffolved them abruptly, because one of the members, in a debate, repeated the old adage, falus populi suprema lex. His grace afterwards took the member into cuftody, and caused him to be fined f. 600 for this offence. With his grace came over Father Thomas Churchill, a Romish pastor, sent out by James II. to convert the island to popery; but his grace's death, and the revolution in 1688, blasted the good father's project. The duchess accompanied her husband; a circumstance which the speaker of the Affembly, in his first address, expatiated upon in a high strain of eloquence. "It is an honour (faid he) which the opulent kingdoms of Mexico and Peru could never arrive at, and even Columbus's ghost would be appealed for all the indignities he endured of the Spaniards, could he but know that his own beloved foil was hallowed by fuch footsteps !*

ON

* Having mentioned this lady, the reader, I am persuaded, will pardon me for adding the following particulars of her history. On the death of the duke, her first husband, his grace's coadjutors in the diving business (many of whom had been bucaniers) complained that they had not received their full share of the prize-money, and her grace, who had got possession of the treasure, refusing to part with a shilling, they formed a scheme to seize her person in the king's house in Spanish Town, and carry her off. Luckily she re-

Q3 ceived

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK II. On the feventh of June 1692, happened that tremendous earthquake which swallowed up great part of Port Royal. A description of it, dreadfully minute, may be found in the Philosophical Transactions; but it is not generally known that the town was chiefly built on a bank of sand, adhering to a rock in the sea, and that a very slight concussion, aided by the weight of the buildings,

ceived fome intimation of the plot a day or two before it was to have been carried into execution, and communicated her apprehensions to the House of Assembly, who thereupon appointed a formidable committee of their ablest bodied members to guard her person by day and night, until she was fafely embarked in one of the king's ships. She arrived in England, in the Affistance man of war, with all her treasure, the beginning of June 1688, and some years afterwards fell into a state of mental imbecility, in the progress of which she pleased herfelf with the notion, that the Emperor of China having heard of her immense riches was coming to pay his addresses to her. She even made magnificent preparations for his reception. As she was perfectly gentle and good-humoured in her lunacy, her attendants not only encouraged her in her folly, but contrived also to turn it to good account, by perfuading a needy peer (the first duke of Montague) to personate his Chinese majesty, and deceive her into wedlock, which he actually did; and with greater fuccess than honesty, or, I should imagine, even the law would warrant, got possession by this means of her wealth, and then confined her as a lunatick. Cibber, the comedian, who thought it a good jest, introduced the circumstance on the stage, and it forms a scene in his play, called the Sick Lady Cured. Her grace survived her hufband, the pretended emperor, for many years, and died in 1734, at the great age of 98. Her frenzy remained however to the last, and she was served on the knee as Empress of China to the day of her death.

would

would probably have accomplished its destruction. I am inclined therefore to suspect that the description of the shock is much exaggerated*.

THE inhabitants were scarcely recovered from the terrors occasioned by the earthquake, when they were alarmed with an account of an intended invasion by an armament from Hispaniola, commanded by Monf. Du Casse, the governor of that island, in person. Accordingly, on the 17th of June 1694, a fleet of three men of war and twenty privateers (having on board 1,500 land forces) appeared off Cow Bay, where eight hundred of the foldiers were landed, with orders to desolate the country as far as Port Morant. These barbarians obeyed their instructions to the full extent. They not only fet fire to every fettlement they came to, but tortured their prisoners in the most shocking manner, and murdered great numbers in cold blood, after making them behold the violation of their wives by their own negroes. Such at least is the account transmitted by Sir William Beefton, the governor, to the fecretary of state. Unfortunately, the militia of this part of the country had been drawn off to guard the capital; whereby the French continued their ravages without refiftance, and having fet fire to all the plantations within their reach,

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and

^{*} The seventh of June is declared, by an act of the Assembly, to be established as a perpetual anniversary fast, in commemoration of this calamity.

BOOK

and seized about one thousand negroes, Du Casse failed to leeward, and anchored in Carlifle Bay, in the parish of Vere. This place had no other fortification than an ill-contrived breaft-work, manned by a detachment of two hundred men from the militia of St. Elizabeth and Clarendon, which Du Casse attacked with all his force. The English made a gallant resistance; but Colonel Cleyborn, Lieutenant Colonel Smart, Captain Vaffal, and Lieutenant Dawkins being killed, and many others dangeroufly wounded, they were compelled to retreat. Happily, at this moment, arrived five companies of militia, which the governor had fent to their affiftance from Spanish Town. These, though they had marched thirty miles without refreshment, immediately charged the enemy with fuch vigour, as entirely to change the fortune of the day. The French retreated to their ships, and Du Casse soon afterwards returnto Hispaniola with his ill-gotten booty.

In 1712, on the 28th day of August, and again on the same day of the same month, in the year 1722, Jamaica was shaken to its soundations by a dreadful hurricane. This day, therefore, as well as the seventh of June, the Colonial Legislature has, by an act of Assembly, piously set apart for fasting and humiliation, and I wish I could add, that its commemoration annually, is as exemplary among all ranks of people as the occasion was signal.

THE

CHAP.

The next important occurrence in the history of this island, was the pacification, concluded in 1738, with the hostile negroes called *Marcons*; but the respite which this treaty afforded the inhabitants from intestine commotion was of short duration. In 1760, the very existence of the colony was endangered by a revolt of the enslaved negroes. As, however, some particulars of this affair will be given in a subsequent part of my work, when I come to treat generally of negro slavery, and of the condition and character of the newly imported Africans, it is unnecessary for me, in this place, to enlarge upon the subject.

THE co-operation of the people whom I have just mentioned, the Maroons, in suppressing the revolt of 1760, was confidered, at the time, in a very favourable point of view; and the safety of the country was attributed in some degree to their fervices on that occasion; but the writer of this was convinced by his own observations on the spot, that no opinion could be more illfounded: he was perfuaded that the Maroons were fuspicious allies, and that, whenever they should come to feel their own strength, they would prove very formidable enemies. Recent events have unhappily confirmed the judgment he then formed of them. Soon after the publication of this work, these people began a most unprovoked war against the white inhabitants, which

ROOK has ended in their total defeat, and the final expulsion of most of them from the island. The circumstances attending this revolt requiring particular discussion, I have accordingly given it full confideration, in a diffinct narrative of its origin. progress, and termination, and reserved it for the concluding part of these volumes: to that therefore the reader is referred.

> THE year 1744 was diffinguished by another destructive conflict of the elements; and in 1780. after a long respite, began that dreadful succession of hurricanes, which, with the exception of 1782 and 1782, defolated this, and some of the neighbouring islands, for feven years together*.

> Or the whole series of these awful visitations. the first was undoubtedly the most destructive; but in Jamaica, the fphere of its activity was chiefly confined to the western parts of the island. The large and opulent districts of Westmoreland and Hanover presented, however, such extent and variety of desolation from its effects, as are scarcely to be equalled in the records of human calamity. Westmoreland alone sustained damage to the amount of f. 700,000 sterling, and Han-

> > * 1780 hurricane 3d October.

1781 - - - 1st August.

1784 - - - 30th July.

1785 - - - 27th August.

1786 -- 20th October.

III.

over nearly as much. The fad fate of Savanna CHAP. la Mar (a finall fea-port in the former parish) can never be remembered without horror. The fea, bursting its ancient limits, overwhelmed that unhappy town, and fwept it to inftant destruction, leaving not a vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind; fo fudden and comprehensive was the stroke, that I think the catastrophe of Savanna la Mar was even more terrible, in many respects. than that of Port Royal. The latter, however, was in its effects more lafting; for to this hour the ruins of that devoted town, though buried for upwards of a century beneath the waves, are visible in clear weather from the boats which fail over them, prefenting an awful monument or memorial of the anger of Omnipotence!

. Dread end of human strength, and human skill, Riches, and triumph, and domain, and pomp, And eafe and luxury!

DYER.

WHAT has thus frequently happened, will probably happen again; and the infolence of wealth, and the confidence of power, may learn a leffon of humility from the contemplation*.

* Mr. Long, in the third volume of his History of Jamaica, has enumerated the following prognosticks, as the usual precursors of a hurricane :- " Extraordinary continuance of extreme dry and hot weather. On the near approach of the storm, a turbulent appearance of the sky; the sun becomes unufually

BOOK II. unufually red, while the air is perfectly calm. The highest mountains are free of clouds, and are feen very distinctly. The sky towards the north looks black and foul. The sea rolls on the coast and into the harbours with a great fwell, and emits, at the same time, a very strong and disagreeable odour. On the full moon, a haze is feen round her orb, and fometimes a halo round the fun." To this enumeration, I will add a remarkable circumstance which happened in Jamaica in 1780. Upwards of twenty hours before the commencement of the great storm in that year, a very uncommon noise, resembling the roar of distant thunder, was heard to issue from the bottom of all the wells in the neighbourhood of Kingston. There was, at that time, in Port Royal harbour, a fleet of merchant ships, which were to fail the next morning. The commander of one of these vessels, was a witness to the circumstance I have mentioned; and having been informed that it was one of the prognosticks of an approaching hurricane (though none had happened in Jamaica for near forty years) he hastened on board his ship, warped her that evening into the inner harbour into shoal water, and fecured her with all the precautions he thought necessary. At day break the hurricane began, and this ship was one of the very few that escaped destruction from its fury.

CHAP. IV.

Situation and climate. - Face of the Country. - Mountains, and advantages derived from them .- Soil. -Lands in Culture. - Lands uncultivated, and observations thereon. - Woods and Timbers .-Rivers and Medicinal Springs .- Ores .- Vegetable Classes .- Grain .- Grasses .- Kitchen-garden produce, and Fruits for the Table, &c. &c.

JAMAICA is situated in the Atlantick Ocean, in CHAP. about 18° 12', north latitude, and in longitude about 77° 45' west from London. From these data the geographical reader will perceive that the climate, although tempered and greatly mitigated by various causes, some of which will be prefently explained, is extremely hot, with little variation from January to December; that the days and nights are nearly of equal duration; there being little more than two hours difference between the longest day and the shortest; that there is very little twilight; and finally, that when it is twelve o'clock at noon in London, it is about feven in the morning in Jamaica.

THE general appearance of the country differs greatly from most parts of Europe; yet the north and fouth fides of the island, which are separated

BOOK by a vast chain of mountains extending from east to west, differ at the same time widely from each other. When Columbus first discovered Jamaicas he approached it on the northern fide; and beholding that part of the country which now constitutes the parish of St. Anne, he was filled with delight and admiration at the novelty, variety, and beauty of the prospect. The whole of the scenery is indeed fuperlatively fine, nor can words alone (at least any that I can select) convey a just idea of it. A few leading particulars I may perhaps be able to point out, but their combinations and features are infinitely various, and to be enjoyed must be seen.

> THE country at a small distance from the shore tifes into hills, which are more remarkable for beauty than boldness; being all of gentle acclivity, and commonly feparated from each other by fpacious vales and romantick inequalities; but they are feldom craggy, nor is the transition from the hills to the vallies oftentimes abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill towards the top with fingular felicity. The most striking circumftances however attending these beautiful fwells are the happy disposition of the groves of pimento, with which most of them are spontaneoufly clothed, and the confummate verdure of the turf underneath, which is discoverable in a thoufand openings; prefenting a charming contrast

to the deeper tints of the pimento. As this tree, CHAP, which is no less remarkable for fragrancy than beauty, suffers no rival plant to flourish within its shade, these groves are not only clear of underwood, but even the grass beneath is seldom luxuriant. The foil in general being a chalky marl, which produces a close and clean turf, as smooth and even as the finest English lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful furface the pimento spreads itself in various compartments. In one place, we behold extensive groves; in another, a number of beautiful groups, some of which crown the hills, while others are fcattered down the declivities. To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. No part of the West Indies, that I have seen, abounds with so many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. In one point of view, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls are beheld in the same moment. Those only who have been long at fea, can judge of the emotion which is felt by the thirsty voyager at so enchanting a prospect.

Such is the foreground of the picture. As the land rifes towards the center of the island, the eye. paffing over the beauties that I have recountBOOK ed, is attracted by a boundless amphitheatre of wood,

Insuperable height of loftiest shade, Cedar; and branching palm:

MILTON.

An immensity of forest; the outline of which melts into the distant blue hills, and these again are lost in the clouds.

On the fouthern fide of the island, the scenery, as I have before observed, is of a different nature. In the landscape I have described, the prevailing characteristicks are variety and beauty: in that which remains, the predominant features are grandeur and fublimity. When I first approached this fide of the island by sea, and beheld, from afar, fuch of the stupendous and foaring ridges of the blue mountains, as the clouds here and there difclosed, the imagination (forming an indistinct but awful idea of what was concealed, by what was thus partially displayed) was filled with admiration and wonder. Yet the fensation which I felt was allied rather to terror than delight. Though the prospect before me was in the highest degree magnificent, it seemed a scene of magnificent defolation. The abrupt precipice and inacceffible cliff, had more the aspect of a chaos than a creation; or rather seemed to exhibit the effects of

fome

fome dreadful convulsion, which had laid nature CHAP. in ruins. Appearances however improved as we approached; for, amidst ten thousand bold features, too hard to be foftened by culture, many a fpot was foon discovered where the hand of industry had awakened life and fertility. With these pleafing intermixtures, the flowing line of the lower range of mountains (which now began to be visible, crowned with woods of majestick growth) combined to foften and relieve the rude folemnity of the loftier eminences; until at length the favannas at the bottom met the fight. These are vaft plains, clothed chiefly with extensive canefields; displaying, in all the pride of cultivation, the verdure of fpring blended with the exuberance of autumn, and they are bounded only by the ocean; on whose bosom a new and ever-moving picture strikes the eye; for innumerable vessels are discovered in various directions, some crowding into, and others bearing away from, the bays and harbours with which the coast is every where indented. Such a prospect of human ingenuity and industry, employed in exchanging the superfluities of the Old World, for the productions of the New, opens another, and, I might add, an almost untrodden field, for contemplation and reflection.

THUS the mountains of the West Indies, if not, in themselves, objects of perfect beauty, contribute greatly towards the beauty of general na-VOL. I. R ture;

II.

BOOK ture; and furely the inhabitants cannot reflect but with the deepest sense of gratitude to Divine Providence, on the variety of climate, fo conducive to health, ferenity and pleafure, which thefe elevated regions afford them. On this fubject I fpeak from actual experience. In a maritime fituation, on the fultry plains of the fouth fide, near the town of Kingston, where I chiefly resided during the space of fourteen years, the general medium of heat during the hottest months (from June to November, both inclusive) was eighty degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer (a). At a villa eight miles distant, in the highlands of Liguanea, the thermometer feldom rose, in the hottest part of the day, above feventy. Here then was a difference of ten degrees in eight miles; and in the morning and evening the difference was much greater. At Cold Spring, the feat of Mr. Wallen, a very high fituation fix miles further in the country, poffeffed by a gentleman who has tafte to relish its beauties and improve its productions, the general state of the thermometer is from 55 to 65°. It has been observed so low as 44°; so that a fire

> (a) In the other months, viz. from December to May, the thermometer ranges from 70 to 80°. The night air in the months of December and January is fometimes furprifingly cool: I have known the thermometer so low at fun-rise as 69°, even in the town of Kingston; but in the hottest months, the difference between the temperature of noon-day and midnight is not more than 5 or 6°.

there,

there, even at noon-day, is not only comfortable CHAP. but necessary, a great part of the year (b). It may be supposed, that the sudden transition from the hot atmosphere of the plains, to the chill air of the higher regions, is commonly productive of mifchievous effects on the human frame; but this, I believe, is feldom the case, if the traveller, as prudence

(b) Cold Spring is 4,200 feet above the level of the sea. The foil is a black mould on a brown marl; but few or none of the tropical fruits will flourish in so cold a climate. Neither the nesberry, the avocado pear, the star apple, nor the orange, will bear within a considerable height of Mr. Wallen's garden; but many of the English fruits, as the apple, the peach, and the strawberry, flourish there in great perfection, with feveral other valuable exoticks; among which I observed a great number of very fine plants of the tea-tree and other oriental productions. The ground in its native state is almost entirely covered with different forts of the fern, of which Mr. Wallen has reckoned about 400 diffinct species. A person vifiting Cold Spring for the first time, almost conceives himfelf transported to a distant part of the world; the air and face of the country fo widely differing from that of the regions he has left. Even the birds are all strangers to him. Among others, peculiar to these lofty regions, is a species of the swallow, the plumage of which varies in colour like the neck of a drake; and there is a very fine fong-bird called the fift-eye, of a blackish brown, with a white ring round the neck. I visited this place in December 1788, the thermometer stood at 57° at fun-rife, and never exceeded 64° in the hottest part of the day. I thought the climate the most delightful that I had ever experienced. On the Blue Mountain peak, which is 7,431 feet from the level of the fea, the thermometer was found to range from 47° at fun-rife to 58° at noon, even in the month of August. See Med. Comment. Eding. 1780. R 2

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK

dence dictates, fets off at the dawn of the morning (when the pores of the skin are in some measure shut) and is clothed somewhat warmer than usual. With these precautions, excursions into the uplands are always found fafe, falubrious, and delightful. I will observe too, in the words of an agreeable writer (c), that "on the tops of high mountains, where the air is pure and refined, and where there is not that immense weight of gross vapours preffing upon the body, the mind acts with greater freedom, and all the functions, both of foul and body, are performed in a superior manner." I wish I could add, with the same author, that "the mind at the fame time leaves all low and vulgar fentiments behind it, and in approaching the ethereal regions, shakes off its earthly affections, and acquires fomething of celestial purity (d)!" To

The following has been given, as an account of the heights from the fea of the most noted mountains in the world:

				Feet.
Mount Blanc	•	-	-	15,672
Etna -	-	**	-	10,954
Pike of Tenerif	fe	-	-	11,022
Chimborazo (A	Andes)	-	-	20,575
Snowdon (Wa	les)	-	-	3,557

(c) Brydone.

⁽d) In describing the rural features of Jamaica, the district called *Pedro Plains*, deserves particular notice. It is a level country on a high bluff called *Pedro Point*, situated on the fouth-

To these inequalities of its surface, however, it CHAP. is owing that although the foil, in many parts of this island, is deep and very fertile, yet the quan-

fouth-west coast, in the parish of St. Elizabeth. I am indebted to a friend for the following interesting account of this part of the island, which deserves to be better known and better peopled that it feems to be at prefent.

66 Pedro Plains differ from every other Savanna of the island, and from any part that I have seen of Cuba. From the district of Fullerswood, in St. Elizabeth's parish, it runs eastward along the coast on an easy ascent to the highest ridge, which is called Tophill; from whence it stretches inland more than 20 miles in length, and about five in width. It is not altogether unlike the downs in fome parts of England, and is most beautifully dotted with clumps of wood, amongst which the aloe, torch thiftle, and other plants of that genus, flourish in great luxuriance, from half an acre, to many acres in extent; the boundaries being as neatly defined as if kept fo by art. The foil in colour is the deepest red, baked hard on the furface by the action of the fun, but of fo porous a nature as to absorb the heaviest rains as fast as they fall. The herbage is in general coarse; nevertheless it maintains many thousands both of neat cattle and horses, and in no part of the world, I believe, is the latter found nearer to a state of wild nature than here. As the whole of this diffrict is unfurnished with springs, or even ponds of any duration, the stock are compelled to go for water to the wells which are funk in the lower parts of the country, at which time the hunters have opportunities of catching them; and contrivances are made for that purpose. This the master-horse seems to be well apprized of; for he leads into the inclosure with admirable caution, and as foon as his own thirst is allayed, he is very impatient to get his family out, which he always drives before him He admits of no interlopers, nor allows any of his fa-R 3 mily

BOOK tity of rich productive land is but small, in proportion to the whole. The generality of what has been cultivated is of a middling quality, and requires labour and manure to make it yield liberal-In fine, with every prejudice in its favour, if

mily to ftray. The breed is remarkably hardy, but fomewhat restive from their wild nature. The air of this country (particularly at Tophill, which approaches to mountainous) is wonderfully falubrious. - As one proof of this, there was living fo late as 1780 a negro man, named John Comelast, who had refided on this fpot as shepherd for upwards of 30 years. He had formerly been the coachman of a Mr. Woodstock, who had given him permission in his old age to go where he pleafed. At the time I faw him his woolly hair had become perfectly white, and his body was shrivelled beyond any thing I had ever beheld; but at the same time his muscles were full and firm, and he could run down any sheep in the Savanna; for he had no dog to affift him. We took him as our guide down to the fea: he ran before us, keeping our horses on a hand-gallop, to the beach, and he maintained the fame pace on our return (though up-hill) a distance of about 10 miles. Of one family of the name of Ebanks, who lived on these plains, there were threescore persons living, all defeended from one man, who was himself living in 1780. The air of this diffrict, though not cold, is wonderfully dry and elastick, and so temperate withal, that even a European sportsman may follow his game the whole day without feeling any oppression from the heat; and he will meet with good fport in purfuing the galena or wild Guinea-fowl, which is found here in great numbers .- The mutton raifed here is equal to the finest down mutton in England, and the fruits and vegetables of all kinds are exellent.-The water-melon in particular ranks with the first of fruits. Its coolness, crispness and flavour are rivalled only by the beauty of the rind,

we compare Jamaica with many other islands CHAP. of nearly the fame extent (with Sicily, for instance, to which it was compared by Columbus) it must be pronounced an unfruitful and laborious country, as the following detail will demonstrate.

JAMAICA is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and, on a medium of three measurements at different places, about forty miles in breadth. These data, supposing the island to have been a level country, would give - 3,840,000 Acres.

Bur a great part confifting of high mountains, the fuperficies of which comprise far more land than the base alone, it has been thought a moderate estimate to allow on that account i more, which is

240,000

The Total is - 4,080,000 Acres.

Or these, it is found by a return of the clerk of the patents, that no more than 1,907,589, were,

which is mottled in shades of green, and bears a gloss like the polish of marble. On the whole, for beauty of prospect,for purity and dryness of air, - and a climate exempt from either extreme of heat and cold, Pedro Plains may vie with any spot on the habitable globe.

Vol. I.

R 4

in

grants from the crown, and as no grants have been iffued fince that time, it appears that upwards of one half the country is confidered as of no kind of value. The lands in cultivation may be diffributed nearly as follows:

In fugar plantations (including the land referved in woods, for the purpose of supplying timber and fire-wood; or appropriated for common pasturage, all which is commonly two-thirds of each plantation) the number of acres may be stated at 690,000; it appearing that the precise number of those estates, in December 1791, was 767, and an allowance of 900 acres to each, on an average of the whole, must be deemed sufficiently liberal.

Or breeding and grazing farms (or, as they are commonly called in the island, pens) the number is about 1,000; to each of which I would allow 700 acres, which gives 700,000, and no person who has carefully inspected the country, will allow to all the minor productions, as cotton, coffee, pimento and ginger, &c. including even the provision plantations, more than half the quantity I have assigned to the pens. The result of the whole is 1,740,000 acres, leaving upwards of two millions an unimproved, unproductive wilderness, of which not more than one-fourth

part

part is, I imagine, fit for any kind of profitable CHAP. cultivation; great part of the interior country being both impracticable and inacceffible.

But, notwithstanding that so great a part of this island is wholly unimprovable, yet (fuch is the powerful influence of great heat and continual moisture) the mountains are in general covered with extensive woods, containing excellent timbers, fome of which are of prodigious growth and folidity; fuch as the lignum vitæ, dog-wood, ironwood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, braziletto, and bully-trees; most of which are so compact and heavy as to fink in water. Some of these are necessary in mill-work, and would be highly valuable in the Windward Islands. They are even fo, in fuch parts of Jamaica as, having been long cultivated, are nearly cleared of contiguous woods: but it frequently happens, in the interior parts, that the new fettler finds the abundance of them an incumbrance inflead of a benefit, and having provided himself with a sufficiency for immediate use, he sets fire to the rest, in order to clear his lands; it not answering the expence of conveying them to the sea-coast for the purpose of sending them to a distant market. Of softer kinds, for boards and shingles, the species are innumerable; and there are many beautiful varieties adapted for cabinet-work, among others the VOL. I. R 5 bread

BOOK bread-nut, the wild-lemon, and the well-known mahogany*:

As the country is thus abundantly wooded, fo, on the whole, we may affert it to be well watered. There are reckoned throughout its extent above one hundred rivers, which take their rife in the mountains, and run, commonly with great rapidity, to the fea, on both fides of the ifland. None of them are deep enough to be navigated by marine veffels. Black River in St. Elizabeth's parith, flowing chiefly through a level country, is the deepeft and gentleft, and admits flat-bottomed boats and canoes for about thirty miles.

* Mr. Beckford (formerly of Westmoreland in Jamaica) whose elegant taste for the beautiful, leads him to felect the pieturesque, rather than the useful; in woodland scenery, thus describes the rural features of this richly furnished island: "The variety and brilliancy of the verdure are particularly " ftriking, and the trees and fhrubs that adorn the face of the " country, are fingular for the richness of their tints, and the depth of their fladows. The palm, the coco-nut, the mountain-cabbage, and the plantain, when affociated with the tamarind, the orange, and other trees of beautiful growth " and vivid dyes, and these commixed with the waving plumes of the Bamboo cane, the fingular appearance of the Jerusalem "thorn, the bushy richness of the Oleander and African rose; "the glowing red of the fearlet cordium, the verdant bowers of the jessamine and grenadilla vines, all together compose an embroidery of colours which few regions can rival, and " which, perhaps, none can furpass." Descriptive Account of Jamaica, vol. is p. 326 OF

Or the fprings, which very generally abound, CHAP. even in the highest mountains, some are medicinal; and are faid to be highly efficacious in diforders peculiar to the climate. The most remarkable of these, is found in the eastern parish of St. Thomas, and the fame of it has created a village in its neighbourhood, which is called the Bath. The water flows out of a rocky mountain, about a mile diftant, and is too hot to admit a hand being held underneath: a thermometer on Fahrenheit's scale, being immersed in a glass of this water, the quickfilver immediately rose to 123°. It is fulphureous, and has been used with great advantage in that dreadful disease of the climate called the dry-belly-ach. There are other fprings, both fulphureous and chalybeate, in different parts of the country; of which, however, the properties are but little known to the inhabitants in general.

In many parts of Jamaica there is a great appearance of metals; and it is afferted by Blome, and other early writers, that the Spanish inhabitants had mines both of filver and copper: I believe the fact. But the industry of the present possession possession profitably exerted on the furface of the earth, than by digging into its bowels. A lead mine was indeed opened fome years ago, near to the Hope estate, in the parish of St. Andrew, and it is faid, there was no want

causes with which I am unacquainted, compelled the proprietors to relinquish their project.

Or the most important of the present natural productions, as sugar, indigo, coffee and cotton, I shall have occasion to treat at large, when the course of my work shall bring me to the subject of agriculture. It only remains therefore, at present, to subjoin a sew observations on the vegetable classes of inferior order: I mean those which, though not of equal commercial importance with the preceding ones, are equally necessary to the comfort and subsistence of the inhabitants. If the reader is inclined to botanical researches, he is referred to the voluminous collections of Sloane and Browne.

The feveral species of grain cultivated in this island are, ift. Maize, or Indian corn, which commonly produces two crops in the year, and sometimes three: it may be planted at any time when there is rain, and it yields according to the soil from sisteen to forty bushels the acre. 2dly. Guiney-corn, which produces but one crop in the year: it is planted in the month of September, and gathered in January sollowing, yielding from thirty to sixty bushels an acre. 3dly. Various kinds of calavances, a species of pea; and, lastly, rice, but in no great quantity; the situation pro-

per for its growth being deemed unhealthy, and CHAP. the labour of negroes is commonly employed in the cultivation of articles that yield greater profit.

THIS island abounds likewise with different kinds of grass, both native and extraneous, of excellent quality; of the first is made exceeding good hay, but not in great abundance; this method of husbandry being practised only in a few parts of the country; and it is the less necessary as the inhabitants are happily accommodated with two different kinds of artificial grass, both extremely valuable, and yielding great profusion of food for cattle. The first is an aquatick plant called Scot's grass, which though generally supposed to be an exotick, I have reason to think grows spontaneously in most of the swamps and morasses of the West-Indies. It rifes to five or fix feet in height, with long fucculent joints, and is of very quick vegetation. From a fingle acre of this plant, five horses may be maintained a whole year, allowing fiftyfix pounds of grass a-day to each.

THE other kind, called Guiney-grass, may be confidered as next to the fugar-cane, in point of importance; as most of the grazing and breeding farms, or pens, throughout the island, were originally created, and are still supported, chiefly by means of this invaluable herbage. Hence the plenty of horned cattle, both for the butcher and planter, is fuch that few markets in Europe

furnish

BOOK furnish beef at a cheaper rate, or of better quality; than those of Jamaica (e). Perhaps the settlement of most of the north-fide parishes is wholly owing to the introduction of this excellent grafs, which happened by accident about fifty years ago; the feeds having been brought from the coast of Guiney, as food for fome birds which were prefented to Mr. Ellis, chief-justice of the island. Fortunately the birds did not live to confume the whole flock, and the remainder, being carelessly thrown into a fence, grew and flourished. It was not long before the eagerness displayed by the cattle to reach the grass, attracted Mr. Ellis's notice, and induced him to collect and propagate the feeds; which now thrive in some of the most rocky parts of the island; bestowing verdure and fertility on lands which otherwise would not be worth cultivation.

> THE feveral kinds of kitchen-garden produce, as edible roots and pulse, which are known in Europe, thrive also in the mountains of this island;

and

⁽e) Mutton is also both cheap and good. The sheep of Jamaica, according to Sloane, are from a breed originally African. They have short hair instead of wool, and in general are party-coloured, chiefly black and white. They are fmall, but very sweet meat. The swine of the West Indies are also confiderably fmaller than those of Europe, and have short pointed ears. Their flesh is infinitely whiter and sweeter than the pork of Great Britain, and that of the wild fort, of which there are great numbers in the woods, still better.

and the markets of Kingston and Spanish-Town CHAP. are supplied with cabbages, lettuce, carrots, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, kidney-beans, greenpeas, afparagus, and various forts of European herbs, in the utmost abundance. Some of them (as the three first) are I think of superior flavour to the fame kinds produced in England. To my own tafte however, feveral of the native growths, especially the chocho, ochra, Lima-bean, and Indian-kale, are more agreeable than any of the esculent vegetables of Europe. The other indigenous productions of this class are plantains, bananas, yams of feveral varieties, calalue (a species of fpinnage) eddoes, caffavi, and fweet potatoes. mixture of these, stewed with salted fish or salted meat of any kind, and highly feafoned with Cayenne-pepper, is a favourite olio among the negroes. For bread, an unripe roafted plantain is an excellent substitute, and universally preferred to it by the negroes, and most of the native whites. It may in truth be called the staff of life to the former; many thousand acres being cultivated in different parts of the country for their daily support (f).

OF the more elegant fruits, the variety is equalled

(f) It is faid by Oviedo that this fruit, though introduced into Hispaniola at a very early period, was not originally a native of the West Indies, but was carried thither from the Canary

BOOK led only by their excellence. Perhaps no country on earth affords fo magnificent a deffert; and I conceive that the following were spontaneously bestowed on the island by the bounty of nature; -the annana or pine-apple, tamarind, papaw, guava, sweet-sop of two species, cashew-apple, custard-apple (a species of chirimoya (g); coco-nut, star-apple, grenadilla, avocado-pear, hog-plum and its varieties, pindal-nut, nefbury, mammee, mammee-fapota, Spanish-goosberry, prickly-pear, and perhaps a few others. For the orange, civil and china, the lemon, lime, shaddock, and its numerous species, the vine, melon, fig and pomegranate, the West Indian islands were probably indebted to their Spanish invaders. Excepting the peach, the strawberry, and a few of the growths of European orchards (which however attain to no great perfection, unless in the highest mountains)

> Canary islands by Thomas de Berlanga, a friar, in the year 1516. The banana is a species of the same fruit. Sir Hans Sloane, whose industry is commendable whatever may be thought of his judgment, has, in his History of Jamaica, collected much information concerning this production; and from some authorities which he cites, it would seem that Oviedo was misinformed, and that every species of the plantain is found growing fpontaneously in all the tropical parts of the earth.

> (g) This fruit is the boast of South America, and is reckoned by Ulloa one of the finest in the world. I have been informed that feveral plants of it are flourishing in Mr. East's princely garden, at the foot of the Liguanea mountains.

the

the rose-apple, genip, and some others of no great CHAP. value, I do not believe that English industry had added much to the catalogue, until within the last twenty years. About the year 1773, a botanick garden was established under the fanction of the Affembly, but it was not until the year 1782 that it could justly boast of many valuable exoticks. At that period, the fortune of war having thrown into the possession of Lord Rodney, a French ship bound from the island of Bourbon to Cape François in St. Domingo, which was found to have on board fome plants of the genuine cinnamon, the mango and other oriental productions, his lordship, from that generous partiality which he always manifested for Jamaica and its inhabitants, prefented the plants to his favourite island;-thus nobly ornamenting and enriching the country his valour had protected from conquest. Happily, the present was not ill beflowed. The cinnamon may now be faid to be naturalized to the country: feveral persons are establishing plantations of it, and one gentleman has fet out fifty thousand plants. The mango is become almost as common as the orange; but, for want of attention, runs into a thousand seminal varieties. Some of them, to my tafte, are perfeetly delicious (h).

(h) The cinnamon tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet; it puts out numerous fide-branches with a denfe Vol. I. foliage

BOOK II. th

I SHALL conclude this chapter, with an authentick catalogue of the foreign plants in the publick botanical garden of this island; lamenting, at the same time, that I am not able to gratify the reader with a more copious and extensive display, from the magnificent collection of my late friend Hinton East, Esquire, who had promised to favour me with an Hortus Eastensis, to be prepared, under his own immediate inspection, purposely for this work; but much greater room have I to lament the cause of my disappointment, and mourn over the severity of that sate which suddenly snatched a most amiable and excellent

foliage from the very bottom of the trunk, which furnishes an opportunity of obtaining plenty of layers, and facilitates the propagation of the tree, as it does not perfect its feeds in any quantity under fix or feven years, when it becomes for plentifully loaded, that a fingle tree is almost fufficient for a colony. When planted from layers, it is of a pretty quick growth, reaching in eight years the height of fifteen or twenty feet, it is very spreading, and furnished with numerous branches of a fit fize for decortation. The feeds are long in coming up. The small branches of about an inch diameter yield the best cinnamon, which is itself the limber or inner bark of the tree, and it requires fome dexterity to feparate the outer barks, which would vitiate the flavour. Specimens of the inner bark, transmitted by Dr. Dancer, the island botanist, to the Society of Arts, were found fully to possess the aroma and taste of the true cinnamon from Ceylon, and indeed to be superior to any cinnamon imported from Holland; and in all other respects to agree perfectly with the description of the oriental cinnamon given by Burman. See their resolutions of the 14th December 1790.

citizen

WEST INDIES.

239

citizen from his friends and the publick, and hur- CHAP. ried him to an untimely grave.—Such is the vanity of hope, and the uncertainty of life! (i)

(i) A very accurate and comprehensive catalogue of Mr. East's superb collection having since been obtained, it will be found in the third volume; -and the catalogue above mentioned, which was inferted in the first edition, is now therefore omitted.

CHAP. V.

Topographical description.—Towns, villages, and parishes.—Churches, church-livings, and vestries.

—Governor or Commander in chief.—Courts of judicature.—Publick offices.—Legislature and laws.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins, and rate of exchange.—Militia.—Number of inhabitants of all conditions and complexions.—Trade, shipping, exports and imports.—Report of the Lords of Trade in 1734.—Present state of the trade with Spanish America.—Origin and policy of the act for establishing free ports.—Display of the progress of the island in cultivation, by comparative statements of its inhabitants and products at different periods.—Appendix No I. No II.

counties, which are named Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is composed of eight parishes, one town, and thirteen villages. The town is that of St. Jago-de-la-Vega or Spanish Town, the capital of the island. Most of the villages of this and the other counties, are hamlets of no great account, situated at the different harbours and shipping-places, and supported by the traffick carried on there. St. Jago-de-la-Vega is situated on the banks of the river Cobre, about six miles

miles from the fea, and contains between five and CHAP. fix hundred houses, and about five thousand inhabitants, including free people of colour. It is the residence of the governor or commander in chief, who is accommodated with a fuperb palace; and it is here, that the legislature is convened, and the Court of Chancery, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, are held.

THE county of Surry contains feven parishes, two towns, and eight villages. The towns are those of Kingston and Port-Royal; the former of which is fituated on the north-fide of a beautiful harbour, and was founded in 1693, when repeated desolations by earthquake and fire had driven the inhabitants from Port-Royal. It contained in 1788 one thousand fix hundred and fixty-five houses, befides negro-huts and warehouses. The number of white inhabitants, in the same year, was fix thousand five hundred and thirty-nine: of free people of colour three thousand two hundred and eighty: of flaves fixteen thousand fix hundred and fifty-nine; -total number of inhabitants, of all complexions and conditions, twenty-fix thousand four hundred and seventy-eight. It is a place of great trade and opulence. Many of the houses in the upper part of the town are extremely mage nificent; and the markets for butchers' meat, turtle, fish, poultry, fruits and vegetables, &c. are inferior to none. I can add too, from the infor-

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mation

BOOK mation of a learned and ingenious friend, who kept comparative registers of mortality, that fince the furrounding country is become cleared of wood, this town is found to be as healthful as any in Europe (a).

PORT-ROYAL, once a place of the greatest wealth and importance in the West Indies, is now reduced, by repeated calamities, to three freets, a few lanes, and about two hundred houses. It contains, however, the royal navy yard, for heaving down and refitting the king's ships; the navy hospital, and barracks for a regiment of soldiers. The fortifications are kept in excellent order, and vie in strength, as I am told, with any fortress in the king's dominions.

(a) The number of the white inhabitants in Kingston, had increased in 1791 to about 7,000. In that year the burials were 151 white men (including 45 from the publick hospital) 23 white women, and 20 white children. Total 194. Of the men, the whole number from the hospital, and a great many of the others, were transient persons, chiefly discarded or vagabond feamen; but without making any allowance for extraordinary mortality on that account, if this return, which is taken from the Parochial Register, be compared with the bills of mortality in the manufacturing towns of England, the refult will be confiderably in favour of Jamaica. In the large and opulent town of Manchester, for instance, the whole number of inhabitants in 1773, comprehending Salford, was 29,151, and the average number of burials (diffenters included) for five preceding years was 958. If the mortality in Manchester had been in no greater proportion than in Kingston, the deaths would not have exceeded 813.

CORNWALL

CORNWALL contains five parishes, three towns, and fix villages.—The towns are Savanna-la-Mar on the fouth side of the island, and Montego Bay and Falmouth on the north. The former was destroyed by a dreadful hurricane and inundation of the sea in 1780, as I have elsewhere related. It is now partly rebuilt, and may contain from fixty to seventy houses.

Montego-Bay is a flourishing and opulent town: confisting of two hundred and twenty-five houses, thirty-three of which are capital stores or warehouses. The number of top-sail vessels which clear annually at this port are about one hundred and fifty, of which seventy are capital ships; but in this account are included part of those which enter at Kingston.

FALMOUTH, or (as it is more commonly called) the Point, is fituated on the fouth-fide of Martha-Brae harbour, and, including the adjoining villages of Martha-Brae and the Rock, is composed of two hundred and twenty houses. The rapid increase of this town and neighbourhood within the last fixteen years is astonishing. In 1771, the three villages of Martha-Brae, Falmouth, and the Rock, contained together but eighteen houses; and the vessels which entered annually at the port of Falmouth did not exceed ten. At present it can boast of upwards of thirty capital stationed

S 4 ships

BOOK ships, which load for Great Britain, exclusive of floops and smaller craft.

EACH parish (or precinct consisting of an union of two or more parishes) is governed by a chief magistrate, styled *Custos Rotulorum*, and a body of justices unlimited by law as to number, by whom sessions of the peace are held every three months, and courts of Common Pleas to try actions arising within the parish or precinct, to an amount not exceeding twenty pounds. In matters of debt not exceeding forty shillings, a single justice is authorized to determine.

THE whole twenty parishes contain eighteen churches and chapels*, and each parish is provided with a rector, and other church officers; the rectors livings, the presentation to which rests with the governor or commander in chief, are severally as follows, viz. St. Catherine £. 300 per annum; Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, Clarendon, and Westmoreland, £. 250 per annum; St. David, St. George, and Portland, £. 100 per annum, all the rest £. 200 per annum. These sums are paid in lieu of tythes by the churchwardens of the several parishes respectively, from the amount of taxes levied by the vestries on the inhabitants.

EACH parish builds and repairs a parsonage house, or allows the rector £. 50 per annum in lieu

of

Two or three more have been erected fince this account was written.

of one; besides which, many of the livings have CHAP. glebe lands of very confiderable value annexed to them, as the parish of St. Andrew, which altogether is valued at one thousand pounds sterling per annum (b). The bishop of London is said to claim this island as part of his diocese, but his jurisdiction is renounced and barred by the laws of the country; and the governor or commander in chief, as supreme head of the provincial church, not only inducts into the feveral rectories, on the requifite testimonials being produced that the candidate has been admitted into priest's orders according to the canons of the church of England, but he is likewise vested with the power of sufpending a clergyman of lewd and diforderly life ab officio, upon application from his parishioners. A suspension ab officio is in fact a suspension a beneficio, no minister being entitled to his stipend for any longer time than he shall actually officiate; unless prevented by fickness.

THE vestries are composed of the custos, and two other magistrates; the rector and ten vestrymen; the latter are elected annually by the free-holders. Besides their power of assessing and appropriating taxes, they appoint way-wardens, and

(b) In the year 1788, the affembly passed a law to prohibit the burial of the dead within the walls of the churches; and as by this regulation several of the rectors were deprived of a perquisite, an augmentation of £. 50 per annum was made to most of the livings.

allot

II.

BOOK allot labourers for the repair of the publick highways. They likewife nominate constables, for the collection both of the publick and parochial taxes.

> THE fupreme court of judicature for the whole island (commonly called the Grand Court, as poffeffing fimilar jurisdiction in this country to that of the feveral courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in Great Britain) is held in the town of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, the capital of the county of Middlesex, on the last Tuesday of each of the months of February, May, August, and November, in every year. In this court, the chief justice of the island presides, whose salary is only f. 120, but the perquifites arifing from the office make it worth about f. 3,000 per annum, The affiftant judges are gentlemen of the ifland. commonly planters, who receive neither falary nor reward of any kind for their attendance. Three judges must be present to constitute a court; and each term is limited in duration to three weeks, From this court, if the matter in dispute in a civilaction be for a fum of f. 300 fterling, or upwards, an appeal lies to the governor and council, as a court of error; if fentence of death be patfed for felony, the appeal is to the governor alone (c). Assize

⁽c) By an early law of this island (passed in 1681) freeholders of known residence are not subject to arrest, and being held to bail in civil process. The mode of proceeding is,

Assize courts also are held every three months, CHAP. in Kingston for the county of Surry, and in Savanna-la-Mar for the county of Cornwall. Surry court begins the last Tuesday in January, April, July, and October. The Cornwall court begins the last Tuesday in March, June, September, and December; each affize court is limited to a fortnight in duration. Thus have the inhabitants law-courts every month of the year, befides the courts of chancery, ordinary, admiralty, and the feveral parish courts (d). The judges of the

to deliver the party a fummons (leaving it at his house is deemed good fervice) together with a copy of the declaration, fourteen days before the court, whereupon the defendant is bound to appear, the very next court, or judgment will pass by default. Twenty-eight days after the first day of each court execution iffues; for which there is but one writ, comprehending both a fieri facias and a capias ad satisfaciendum; but as no general imparlance is allowed before judgment, it is enacted that the effects levied on, shall remain in the defendant's hands until the next court, to give him an opportunity of disposing of them to the best advantage; and if he then fails paying over the money, a venditioni exponas iffues to the marshal, to sell those, or any other goods, and take his person. The modern practice is to make no levy on the execution, whereby the debtor obtains the indulgence of one term, or court, after which both his person and goods are liable under the writ of venditioni exponas.

(d) Soon after this was written an act was passed (I think in 1790) by which the August term in the supreme court was abolished, and a long vacation established as in England, with

воок the affize courts act without falary or reward, as well as the affiftant judges of the supreme court, any one of whom, if present, presides in the affize court. No appeal from the latter to the former is allowed, but judgments of the affize immediately following the supreme court, are confidered as of one and the same court, and have an equal right, in point of priority, with those obtained in the grand court.

> In this island, as in Barbadoes, the departments of council and attorney are diffinct; and although in the island last-mentioned, barristers have been admitted by licence from the governor, it is otherwife in Jamaica; the colonial laws expressly requiring, that no person shall be allowed to practice who has not been regularly admitted in the courts of England, Ireland, or Scotland; or else (in the case of an attorney) who has not served as articled clerk to some fworn attorney or solicitor in the island for five years at least.

> THE governor, or commander in chief, is chancellor by his office, and prefides folely in that high department, which is administered with great form and folemnity. He is also the fole ordinary for the probate of wills and granting letters of administration. From the first of these offices, he de-

> fimilar regulations for the affize courts, to the great relief of persons attending as jurors.

> > rives

WEST INDIES.

269

rives extensive authority, and from the latter con- CHAP. fiderable emolument (e).

(e) The profits and emoluments arising annually from the government of Jamaica may, I think, be stated nearly as follows, viz.

Salary	-	-	-	- £	.5,000
Fees in C	hancery	-	-	-	150
Fees of th	e Court of	Ordinary		-	1,400
Share of (Cuftom Ho	ouse Seizures		-	1,000

The affembly have purchased for the governor's use, a farm of about 300 acres, called the Government Penn, and built an elegant villa thereon. Likewise a polink or provision settlement in the mountains (which is also provided with a comfortable manfion-house) and stocked both properties with 50 negroes, and a fufficiency of cattle, sheep, &c. From these places (which are exclusive of the king's house in Spanish Town) the governor is, or ought to be, supplied with hay and corn, mutton, milk, poultry, and provisions for his domesticks, creating a faving in his houshold expences of at least

1,000

Total in currency -£.8,550

Being equal to £. 6,100 sterling; and this is altogether exclusive of fees received by his private fecretary for militia commissions, &c. &c. &c. which are not easily ascertained. It is supposed also that money has sometimes been made by the fale of church livings; and vast sums were formerly raised by

N. B. A governor of Jamaica may live very honourably for f. 3,000 sterling per annum. - Since the former editions of this work were published, the assembly, at the request of the governor, have passed an act for the sale of both the Govern-

270

BOOK II.

As appendages of the fupreme court, the feveral great offices, viz. the office of enrollments, or fecretary of the island, provost-marshal-general, clerk of the court (or prothonotary, custos-brevium, &c.) are held and fituated in Spanish Town. The first is an office of record, in which the laws passed by the legislature are preserved; and copies of them entered into fair volumes. In this office all deeds, wills, fales, and patents, must be registered. It is likewise required that all perfons (after fix weeks refidence) intending to depart this island, do affix their names in this office, twenty-one days before they are entitled to receive a ticket or let-pass, to enable them to leave the country. In order to enforce this regulation, mafters of veffels are obliged, at the time of entry, to give fecurity in the fum of f. 1,000 not to carry off the ifland any person without fuch ticket or let-pass. Trustees, attornies and guardians of orphans, are required to record annually in this office accounts of the produce of estates in their charge; and, by a late act, mortgagees in poffeffion are obliged to register not only accounts of the crops of each year, but also annual accounts current of their receipts and payments. Transcripts of deeds, &c. from the office, properly certified,

ment Penn and Mountain Polink, and in lieu thereof have fettled an additional falary of £. 2,000 currency on the Commander in Chief for the time being.

are



are evidences in any court of law, and all deeds must be enrolled within three months after date, or they are declared to be void as against any other deed proved and registered within the time limited; but if no second deed is on record, then the same are valid, though registered after the three months. It is presumed that the profits of this office, which is held by patent from the crown, and exercised by deputation, exceed £.6,000 sterling per annum.

THE provost-marshal-general is an officer of high rank and great authority.-The name denotes a military origin, and the office was first instituted in this island in 1660, by royal commisfion to Sir Thomas Lynch. It is now held by patent from the crown, which is usually granted for two lives, and the patentee is permitted to act by deputy, who is commonly the highest bidder. The powers and authorities annexed to this office are various: and the acting officer is high-sheriff of the whole island during his continuance in office, and permitted to nominate deputies under him for every parish or precinct. His legal receipts have been known to exceed f. 7,000 fterling per annum, and it is supposed that some of his deputies make nearly as much.

THE office of clerk of the supreme court is likewise held by patent and exercised by deputation. Evidence was given to the house of assembly some years ago, that its annual value at that time ex-

ceeded



HISTORY OF THE

BOOK ceeded £. 9,000 currency. Of late I believe it is confiderably diminished.

OF the other great lucrative offices, the principal are those of the register in chancery, receivergeneral and treasurer of the island, naval officer, and collector of the customs for the port of Kingston. All these appointments, whether held by patent or commission, are likewise supposed to afford considerable emolument to persons residing in Great Britain. It is computed on the whole, that not less than f, 30,000 sterling is remitted annually, by the deputies in office within the island, to their principals in the mother-country f.

(f) It is not very pleasant to the resident inhabitants to observe, that almost all the patent offices in the colonies are exercifed by deputies, who notoriously and avowedly obtain their appointments by purchase. Leases for years of some of them have been fold by auction; and nothing is more common, at the expiration of those leases, than the circumstance of an inferior clerk outbidding his employer (the refident deputy) and stepping into his place. It may be doubted whether both the feller and buyer in fuch cases are not subject to the penalties of the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. against the fale and purchase of offices relating to the adminifiration of Justice. By an excellent law, however, which passed in the administration of the present Marquis of Lansdown then Earl of Shelburne, the grievance will in a great degree be prevented in future, for it is enacted by the 22d Geo. III. c. 75. that from thenceforth no office to be exercised in the plantations shall be granted by patent, for any longer term than during fuch time as the grantee thereof shall discharge the duty in person.

THE

v.

THE legislature of Jamaica is composed of the CHAP. captain-general or commander in chief, of a council nominated by the crown, confisting of twelve gentlemen, and a house of affembly containing forty-three members, who are elected by the freeholders, viz. three for the feveral towns and parishes of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, Kingston, and Port Royal, and two for each of the other parishes. The qualification required in the elector, is a freehold of ten pounds per annum in the parish where the election is made; and in the representative, a landed freehold of three hundred pounds per annum, in any part of the island, or a personal estate of three thousand pounds. In the proceedings of the general affembly, they copy, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, the forms of the legislature of Great Britain; and all their bills (those of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws as foon as the governor's affent is obtained. The power of rejection however is still reserved in the crown; but until the royal difapprobation is fignified, the laws are valid.

OF the laws thus passed, the principal relate chiefly to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable, as the Dave system for instance (g). In this and other

(g) Thus the evidence of a flave is not admissible against a white person. Again, although by a very early law of this island, flaves are confidered as inheritance, and are according-Vol. I.

BOOK cases, the English laws being filent, the colonial legislature has made, and continues to make, fuch provision therein, as the exigencies of the colony are supposed to require; and on some occasions, where the principle of the English law has been adopted, it has been found necessary to alter and modify its provisions, so as to adapt them to circumstances and situation. Thus, in the mode of fetting out emblements, the practice of fine and recovery, the case of infolvent debtors, the repair of the publick roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor, very great deviations from the practice of the mother-country have been found indispensably requisite (h).

ly subject to the incidents of real property (for as they go to the heir, so may the widow have dower of them, and the furviving husband be tenant by courtefy; and this holds equally whether flaves are possessed in gross, or belong to a plantation) yet in respect of debts, slaves are considered as chattels, and the executor is bound to inventory them like other chattels.

(h) An outline of the law of infolvency may not be unacceptable to the reader. - A debtor, after three months continuance in actual confinement, may obtain his liberty under the following conditions; three weeks previous to the next fitting of the fupreme court, he is to give notice by publick advertifement, that he means to take the benefit of the act, and to that end, has lodged all his books of account in the hands of the marshal or keeper of the gaol, for inspection by his creditors. He shall then, on the first day of term, be brought by petition before the court, where he is to fubscribe and deliver in a schedule of his whole estate and effects, and submit, if any one of his creditors require it, to an examination, viva vece, upon

THE revenues of this island may be divided into CHAP. two branches; the one perpetual, by an act of the year 1728, called the revenue law, of the origin of which I have already fpoken, and of which revenues the quit-rents constitute a part; the other annual, by grants of the legislature. The revenue

oath, in open court. To this schedule he must annex an affidavit, certifying that it contains a just account of all his property, debts, and effects, except clothing, bedding, and working tools, not worth more than 101.; that he has given no preference to any particular creditor, for three months previous to his confinement, nor conveyed away nor concealed any part of his estate or effects. The court thereupon, being fatisfied with the prisoner's examination, shall appoint one or more of the creditors to be affignees for the benefit of the whole; and order them possession of the property and effects, and discharge the party from confinement. Gaol sees of those who are unable to pay them, are paid by the publick. There are various regulations for the prevention of fraud, and it is declared, that if any persons claiming the benefit of the act, shall knowingly forswear themselves, and be convicted of perjury in confequence thereof, they shall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and fuffer death accordingly. It is also provided, that no debtor shall have the benefit of the act more than once, and that the future estate and effects of persons discharged under it (but not their persons or apparel) shall still be liable to make up the former deficiency. By a fubfequent law, however, which the Author of this work had the honour to propose, as a member of the affembly, a debtor may be discharged a second time on the same conditions, provided he had fully paid his former creditors before his fecond infolvency; and even if he has not paid the debts on which he before took the benefit of the act, he shall be discharged, after an actual confinement of two years; the court being fatisfied that he has fairly furrendered all his estate and effects to the use of his creditors.

law

BOOK law may raise about f. 12,000 per annum, of which £. 8,000 is particularly appropriated, as I have elsewhere observed, and the surplus is applicable to the contingent expences of government, in aid of the annual funds. The governor receives £. 2,500 per annum out of the £. 8,000 fund. A further salary of £. 2,500 is settled upon him during his refidence in the island by a special act of legislature, passed the beginning of his administration, and is made payable out of fome one of the annual funds provided by the affembly. These at this time may amount to f. 70,000, of which about f. 40,000 is a provifion for granting an additional pay to the officers and foldiers of his majesty's forces stationed for the protection of the island. Every commissioned officer being entitled to 20 s. per week, and every private to 5 s.: An allowance is also made to the wives and children of the foldiers; which, with the British pay, enables them to live much more comfortably than the king's troops generally do in Europe.

THE usual ways and means adopted for raising the above taxes are, first, a duty of 20 s. per head on all negroes imported; fecondly, a duty on all rum and other spirits retailed and consumed within the island; thirdly, the deficiency law: an act which was intended originally to oblige all proprietors of flaves to keep one white person for every thirty blacks; but the penalty, which is

fometimes

sometimes f. 13, at other times f. 26 per annum, CHAP. for each white person deficient of the number required, is become fo productive a fource of revenue, that the bill is now confidered as one of the annual fupply bills: fourthly, a poll-tax on all flaves, and flock, and a rate on rents and wheelcarriages. Befides thefe, occasional tax-bills are paffed by the legislature, as necessity may require. I have subjoined in a note the estimate of the contingent charges of the government of this island on the annual funds for the year 1788, and of the ways and means for the payment thereof (i).

THE

(i) Estimate of the ordinary Contingent Charges of the Government of JAMAICA on the annual funds for the vear 1788: viz.

year 1700, viz.	f. s. d.
Governor's additional falary	2,500
Subfistence of the Troops, and Hospital	
expences	41,300
Salaries to Officers of the Affembly,	
Printing, &c	2,300
Clerk of the Grand Court	100
Clerk of the Crown	100 — —
Clerk to the Commissioners of Forts -	150
Surveyor to the Bath	200
Port Officers and Waiters	1,600 — —
Maroon Negro Parties	1,000
Superintendants residing in the Maroon-	
Towns	1,300
To the Engineer and Captain of different	
Forts	1,000
For the support of the Botanick Garden	280
Salary to the Agent	420
0 11	
	52,250
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HISTORY OF THE

THE current coins are Portugal pieces of gold, called the half-johannes, valued in England at 36s.

	£٠	5.	d.
Brought over -	52,250		-
To the Officers of the Troops for private			
Lodgings	1,430		_
Supplying the Forts with Water -	1,089	-	
To the Commissioners of the Forts -	5,600		-
To the Kingston Hospital	500	_	_
Sundry Demands on the Publick for			
Official Fees, Medical Care and Gaol			
Fees of Prisoners, Repairs of the Pub-			
lick Buildings, &c. &c.	4,359	7	9
Charges of collecting; viz. Collecting			
Constable's and Receiver General's			
Commissions, Reliefs, &c. 15 per cent.	9,783	6	_
	-		-
1	. 75.011	13	g
	75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS.	75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS.	, 75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000	75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000	75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000	. 75,011	13	9
Ways and Means. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty - 14,000	`. 75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. L. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty - 14,000 Double Deficiency on Ne-	. 75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty - 14,000 Double Deficiency on Ne- groes - 24,000 Poll-Tax - 67,000	. 75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty - 14,000 Double Deficiency on Ne- groes - 24,000 Poll-Tax - 67,000	. 75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty - 14,000 Double Deficiency on Negroes - 24,000 Poll-Tax - 67,000 £. 136,000 Deduct for prompt Pay-	. 75,011	13	9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty - 14,000 Double Deficiency on Ne- groes - 24,000 Poll-Tax - 67,000			9
WAYS and MEANS. £. Outstanding Debts - 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty - 14,000 Double Deficiency on Negroes - 24,000 Poll-Tax - 67,000 £. 136,000 Deduct for prompt Pay-	122,400		9

The overplus was applied towards discharging the Publick Debt, which was estimated at £. 180,000 currency; but fince then, the contingent charges of government, have risen annually to double the amount above stated, owing chiefly to a great augmentation of the British troops; the whole expence

each; these pass here, if of full weight, at 55s. CHAP. Spanish gold coins current here, are, doubloons at £. 5. 5s. each, and pistoles at 26s. 3d. Silver coins are Spanish milled dollars at 6s. 8d. and so in proportion for the smaller parts of this coin; the lowest coin is called a bitt, equal to about 5d. sterling. A guinea passes for 32s. 6d. This, however, is considerably more than the usual rate of exchange, by which £. 100 sterling gives £. 140 currency.

FROM the fituation of this island amidst potent and envious rivals, and the vast disproportion between the number of white inhabitants and the slaves, it may be supposed that the maintenance of a powerful and well-disciplined militia is among

of raising and maintaining all which (above the number of 3,000) is thrown upon the island. Among these is a regiment of light-dragoons, which is mounted on horses bred in the country.

N. B. The fituation of Jamaica, in respect to the expences of its internal government and finances, has been strangely altered since the first publication of the preceding estimates. Its publick debt and contingent expences for 1796, came to no less than £. 298,333. Is. 3 d. currency; and this sum was altogether exclusive of the expences incurred by the war with the Maroon Negroes, of which an account will hereaster be given, amounting to no less than £. 520,198. 14 s. 7 d. currency. The committee of the Assembly by whom these estimates were reported, declare, at the same time, that they find it impracticable to devise the means of answering a debt of such magnitude, and an application was made (but I believe without success) to the British government for a loan of £. 200,000 sterling.

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воок the first objects of the policy of the legislature: accordingly all persons, from fifteen to fixty years of age, are obliged by law to enlift themselves either in the horse or foot, and to provide at their own expence the necessary accourrements; but this law, I doubt, is not very rigidly enforced, as the whole militia, which is composed of three regiments of horse and fourteen regiments of foot, does not confift of much more than 8,000 effective troops; neither do the usual employments and habits of life, either of the officers or privates, conduce very much to military fubordination* .-However, in times of actual danger, whether from the revolt of flaves, or the probability of invasion, no troops in the world could have shewn greater promptitude or alacrity in fervice, than has been displayed by the militia of Jamaica. In such emergencies, the commander in chief, with the advice and confent of a general council of war (in which the members of the affembly have voices) may

> * The following is a return of the cavalry and infantry on the 13th January 1792:

	Cava	alr y. I nf	antry.	Total.
County of Surry	- 33	6 2	,141	2,477
Middl	esex 37	5 2,	,647	3,022
Çornv	vall 36	8 2,	,305	2,673
	F	Effectives		8,172

Free negroes and men of colour included; their number was 1,889. The Maroons were not comprehended.

proclaim

proclaim martial law. His power is then dicta- CHAP. torial; and all persons are subject to the articles of war.

From the given number of men able to bear arms in any country, it is usual with political writers to estimate the inhabitants at large; but their rule of calculation does not apply to Jamaica, where the bulk of the people confifts of men without families. Europeans who come to this island have feldom an idea of fettling here for life. Their aim is generally to acquire fortunes to enable them to fit down comfortably in their native country; and, in the meanwhile, they confider a family as an incumbrance. Marriage, therefore, being held in but little estimation, the white women and children do not bear the same proportion to the males, as in European climates. From these, and other causes, I have found it difficult to ascertain with precision the number of the white inhabitants. I have been informed, that a late intelligent chief governor (General Campbell) computed them, after diligent research, at 25,000; and I am induced to believe, from more than one mode of calculation, that General Campbell's eftimate was near the truth.—This computation was made in 1780, fince which time I am of opinion, from the many loyal Americans who have fixed themselves in Jamaica, and other causes, this number is confiderably increased. Including the troops

воок troops and fea-faring people, the white population may, I think, be fixed at 30,000.

THE freed negroes and people of colour are computed, in a report of a committee of the house of assembly of the 12th of November 1788, at 500 in each parish, on an average of the whole; which makes 10,000, exclusive of the black people called Maroons, who enjoy freedom by treaty (1).

Or negroes in a state of slavery in this island, the precise number in December, 1787, as ascertained on oath in the rolls from which the polltax is levied, was 210,894; and as it may answer more useful purposes hereafter than the mere gratisfication of curiosity, I shall distinguish the numbers in each parish, which are the following:

St. Dorothy —	_	3,129
St. Catherine —		5,304
St. John —	-	5,880
St. Thomas in the Vale		7,459
Vere -		7,487
St. Mary —		17,144
St. Ann —	-	13,324
Kingston —	Berryone	6,162
St. Andrew	-	9,613
St. David	-	2,881
Carried over —	-	78,383

⁽¹⁾ See the historical account of the Maroons in the third volume.

St. Thomas

Brought over	- Committee	78,383	CHAP.
St. Thomas in the East	-	20,492	v.
Portland —	(making	4,537	O V O.
St. George —	-	5,050	
St. Elizabeth —	-	13,280	
Hanover —		17,612	
St. James —		18,546	
Trelawney -		19,318	
Port-Royal —		2,229	
Westmoreland —	Statements	16,700	
Clarendon —	-	14,747	
Total —	-	210,894	

It appears, however, from the report of the committee of the affembly above cited, that in most of the parishes it is customary to exempt persons not having more than fix negroes, from the payment of taxes on flaves, whereby many of the negroes, especially in the towns (m), are not given in to the different veftries, and the returns of a great many others are fraudulently concealed; thus the tax-rolls do not contain the full

(m) In Kingston, for instance, the real number is 16,659, instead of 6, 162, the number of the tax-rolls. On an average of the whole number of parishes, the negroes not given in or returned may be reckoned at one-seventh part of the whole.

number

BOOK number of flaves, which in the opinion of the committee, were at that time 240,000, at the leaft; and there is not a doubt that upwards of 10,000 have been left in the country from subsequent importations, exclusive of decrease. The whole number of inhabitants therefore, of all complexions and conditions, at this time (1791) may be stated as follows:

Whites	-	49	- .	-	30,000
Freed 1	negroes,	and	people	of	
color	ir -	-	-	-	10,000
Maroor	is, about	-	- 1,	-	1,400
Negro :	flaves	~		-	250,000 (n)
		Tota	- la		291,400

THE trade of this island will best appear by the quantity of shipping and the number of seamen to which it gives employment, and the nature and quantity of its exports. The following is an account, from the books of the Inspector General of Great Britain, of the number of veffels of all kinds, their registered tonnage and number of men, which cleared from the feveral ports of entry in Jamaica in the year 1787, exclusive of coasting sloops, wherries, &c. viz.

For

⁽n) These are increased at this time (1797) to at least 300,000.

	Number of Veffels.	Tonnage.	Men.	CHAP.
For Great Britain -	242	63,471	7,748	~~
Ireland	10	1,231	91	
American States	133	13,041	893	
British American	L			
Colonies	- 66	6,133	449	
Foreign West In-	-			
dies	- 22	1,903	155	
Africa	- I	109	8	
ma	address-to-tra			
Total ·	474	85,888	9,344	

It must, however, be observed, that as many of the vessels clearing for America and the foreign West Indies make two or more voyages in the year, it is usual, in computing the real number of those vessels, their tonnage and men, to deduct one-third from the official numbers. With this correction the total to all parts is 400 vessels, containing 78,862 tons, navigated by 8,845 men.

THE exports for the same year are given on the same authority, as follows:

Inspector-General's Account of the Jamaica Exports, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Value in Sterling Money, according to the Prices then current at the London Market.

c.	Sugar.	Rum.	Melaffes.	Melaffes, Piemento.	Coffee.	Cotton Wool.	Indigo.
IO WING I AR 1 S.	Crwt. qrs. 1bs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	165.
To Great Britain - 824,706 2 25 1,890,540	824,706 2 25	1,890,540	2,316	606,909	606,994 3,706 3 27	1,899,967	27,223.
Ireland	62849	106,700	1	2,800	1 01	5,500	400
American States	29169	327,325	1,800	6,450 2,566	2,566 1 2	1	i
Br. Amer. Co- \ lonies \	2,822	207,660	2,300	200	110 3 8	cooʻi	i
Foreign Weft \	- 42	2,200	ı	I	9	1	ı
Africa	1	8,600	I	1	1	ı	1
Totals -	840,548 2 25	2,543,025	6,416	616,444	6,395 3 9	1,905,467	27,623
	-	-		-			-

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27
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Total Value	Total value.	£. 5. d. 2,022,814 7 10	25,778 10	60,095 18 —	26,538 2 5	355 19 —	9860 -	2,136,442 17 3
 Mifcellaneous Articles.	Value.	£. 5. d. 147,286 3 4	I	I	1	1	1	Table 1
Leg-wood.	Tons.	6,701	1	I	1	1	′ I	6,701
Tobacco. Mahogany.	Tons. Cwt.	3 15 18,140 5,783 4	- 56	1	1	1	1	18,140 5,878 4
Tobacco.	lbs.	18,140	ı	ı	ı	I	1	3 15 18,140 5,878 4
Cacao.	Cwt. grs. lbs. Cwt. grs. lbs.	82 3 15	1	i	ī	1	1	82 3 15
Ginger.	Cwt. grs. lbs.	3,553 2 x5	- 816	339	+	1	I	4,816 2 15
To what PARTS.		To Great Britain -	Ireland	American States	Br. Amer. Co-	Foreign W. In-	Africa	Totals -

Bur

HISTORY OF THE

ROOK II. But it must be noted, that a considerable part of the cotton, indigo, tobacco, mahogany, dyewoods, and miscellaneous articles, included in the preceding account, is the produce of the foreign West Indies imported into Jamaica, partly under the free-port law, and partly in small British vessels employed in a contraband traffick with the Spanish American territories, payment of which is made chiefly in British manufactures and negroes; and considerable quantities of bullion, obtained by the same means, are annually remitted to Great Britain, of which no precise accounts can be procured *.

THE General Account of IMPORTS into Jamaica will fland nearly as follows; viz.

* The preceding account having been made up for 1787, it may reasonably be supposed that the island has greatly increafed its produce in the space of 10 years; and, it is true, that at this period (1797) the amount of its exports, accordto their marketable value, would greatly exceed that of 1787, perhaps nearly one third; but it is conceived, that the difference arises more from an advance of price in the several articles, than from any excess in the quantity produced, coffee excepted. This increase of price has been chiefly owing to the destruction of most of the French islands, particularly St. Domingo: the British planters, on the other hand, have to fet against it the increase of their internal taxes, for the fupport of a war establishment (besides additional insurance, freight, and other charges) to an amount never before known; those of Jamaica, in particular, have been subject to burthens to which this augmentation in the value of their exports was by no means commensurate. See p. 279, note at foot.

IMPORTS

IMPORTS INTO JAMAICA.

From Great Britain, direct, according to a return of the Inspector-General for 1787.		
From Ireland, I allow a moiety of the whole import from that kingdom to the British West Indies, consisting of manufactures and salted provisions to the amount of £. 277,000 - 138,	500 — —	-
From the British Colonies in America (including about	800 — —	•
From the United States, Indian corn, wheat, flour, rice, lumber, staves, &c. imported in British ships - 190, From Madeira and Tenerisse, in ships trading circuitously	000 — —	
from Great Britain, 500 pipes of wine (exclusive of wines for re-exportation) at £.30 sterling the pipe - 15,0 From the Foreign West Indies, under the free-port law, &c. calculated on an average of three Years (k) 150,0		
	232 5 4	

(i) Being an average of the whole number imported and retained in the Mand for ten years, 1778 to 1787, as returned by the Inspector-General. The import of the last three years is much greater.

(t) From returns of the Inspector-General. The following are the particulars for the year 1787.

Cotton Wool	- 104,00	o lbs.
Cacao		o lbs.
Cattle, viz.	4,73	0 .50,
Affes	- 43	
Hories	- 233	
Mules	- 585	
Oxen	- 243	
Sheep	- oS	
	/	2 No.
Dying Woods		7 Tons.
Gum Guiacum		
Hides -		9 Barrels.
Indigo _		7 No.
Mahogany		3 .bs.
Tortoife Shell		3 Planks.
Dollars -		5 lbs.
	= 53,85	o Na.

YOL, I.

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SOME

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK II. Some part of this estimate, however, is not so perfect as might be wished; inasmuch as in the accounts made up at the Inspector-General's office of goods exported from Great Britain, they reckon only the original cost, whereas the British merchant being commonly the exporter, the whole of his profits, together with the freight, insurance, and factorage commissions in the island, should be taken into the account, because the whole are comprized in one charge against the planter. On the British supply, therefore, I calculate that twenty per cent. should be added for those items; which make the sum total £.1,648,018.145.4 d. sterling-money.

AFTER all, it is very possible that some errors may have crept into the calculation, and the balance or surplus arising from the excess of the exports, may be more or less than appears by the statement which I have given; but this is a consideration of little importance in a national view, inasmuch as the final profit arising from the whole system ultimately rests and centers in Great Britain;—a conclusion which was well illustrated formerly by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, in a report made by them on the state of the British sugar colonies in the year 1734; an extract from which, as it serves likewise to point out the progress of this island during the last fifty years, I shall present to the reader.

" THE

"THE annual amount (fay their Lordships) of CHAP. our exports to Jamaica, at a medium of four years, from Christmas 1728 to Christmas 1732, as it stands computed in the custom-house books, appears to have been - £. 147,675. 2. 3\frac{3}{4}.

The medium of our imports (1) from Jamaica, in the

fame year, is - $f. 539,499.18.3^{\frac{7}{2}}$.

So that the annual excess of our imports, in that period, is no less than

£.391,824.15.113. " Bur it must not be imagined, that this excess is a debt upon Great Britain to the island of Jamaica; a part of it must be placed to the account of Negroes, and other goods, fent to the Spanish West Indies, the produce of which is returned to England by way of Jamaica; another part to the debt due to our African traders from the people of Jamaica, for the Negroes which are purchased and remain there for the service of the island; a third proportion must be placed to the account of our Northern Colonies on the continent of America, who discharge part of their balance with Great Britain by confignments from Jamaica, arifing from the provisions and lumber with which they fupply that island; the remain-

(1) The Custom House prices of goods imported, are confiderably less than the real or mercantile prices—perhaps, in general, about one-third.

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BOOK ing part of the excess in our importations from this colony, is a profit made upon our trade, whether immediately from Great Britain, or by way of Africa; and laftly, it is a confideration of great importance in the general trade of Great Britain, that part of the fugar, and other merchandize which we bring from Jamaica, is re-exported from hence, and helps to make good our balance in trade with other countries in Europe."

HAVING mentioned the trade which is carried on between this island and the Spanish territories in America, some account of it in its present state, and of the means which have been adopted by the British parliament to give it support, may not be unacceptable to my readers. It is fufficiently known to have been formerly an intercourse of vast extent, and highly advantageous to Great Britain, having been supposed to give employment, about the beginning of the present century, to 4,000 tons of English shipping, and to create an annual vent of British goods to the amount of one million and a half in value. From the wretched policy of the court of Spain towards its American fubjects, by endeavouring to compel them to truft folely to the mother-country, for almost every article of necessary confumption, at the very time that she was incapable of supplying a fiftieth part of their wants, it is not furprifing that they had recourse, under all hazards, to those nations of Europe

Europe which were able and willing to answer CHAP. their demands. It was in vain, that the veffels employed in this traffick, by the English and others, were condemned to confiscation, and the mariners to perpetual confinement and flavery; the Spanish Americans supplied the loss by veffels of their own, furnished with seamen so well acquainted with the feveral creeks and bays, as enabled them to profecute the contraband with facility and advantage. Thefe veffels received every possible encouragement in our islands; contrary, it must be acknowledged, to the strict letter of our acts of navigation; but the British government, aware that the Spaniards had little to import besides bullion, but horned cattle, mules, and horses, (so necessary to the agriculture of the fugar colonies) connived at the encouragement that was given them. The trade, however, has been, for many years, on the decline. Since the year 1748, a wifer and more liberal policy towards its American dominions, feems to have actuated the court of Madrid; and the contraband traffick has gradually lessened, in proportion as the rigour of the ancient regulations has been relaxed. Nevertheless, the intercourse with this island, in Spanish veffels, was still very considerable so late as the year 1764. About that period, directions were issued by the English ministry to enforce the laws of navigation with the utmost strictness; and U 3 custom-

BOOK custom-house commissions were given to the captains of our men of war, with orders to feize all foreign vessels, without distinction, that should be found in the ports of our West Indian islands; a measure which in truth was converting our navy into guarda-costas, for the king of Spain. In consequence of these proceedings, the Spaniards, as might have been expected, were deterred from coming near us, and the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica alone, in the year 1765, fell short of the year 1763, f. 168,000 sterling.

A WISER ministry endeavoured to remedy the mischief, by giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels as usual; but the subject matter being canvaffed in the British parliament, the nature and intent of those orders were so fully explained, that the Spanish court, grown wise from experience, took the alarm, and immediately adopted a measure, equally prompt and prudent, for counteracting them. This was, the laying open the trade to the islands of Trinidad, Porto-Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, to every province in Spain, and permitting goods of all kinds to be fent thither, on the payment of moderate duties. Thus the temptation of an illicit commerce with foreign nations, being in a great measure removed, there was reason to believe that the effect would cease with the cause.

Such, however, is the fuperiority or comparative 5

tive cheapness of British manufactures, that it is CHAP. probable the trade would have revived to a certain degree, if the British ministry of 1765, after giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels into our ports in the West Indies, had proceeded no further. But, in the following year, they obtained an act of parliament for opening the chief ports of Jamaica and Dominica, to all foreign vessels of a certain defcription. The motives which influenced the framers of this law, were undoubtedly laudable; they justly considered the recovery of the Spanish trade as a matter of the utmost consequence, and concluded that the traders would naturally prefer those ports, in which their fafety was founded on law, to places where their prefervation depended only on the precarious tenure of connivance and favour. Other oftenfible reasons were affigned in support of the measure; but the jealousy of Spain was awakened, and the endeavours of the British parliament on this occasion, served only to encrease the evil which was meant to be redreffed. By an unfortunate over-fight, the collectors at the feveral British free-ports were instructed to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign vessels, and of the bullion which they imported, together with the names of the commanders. These accounts having been transmitted to the commissioners of the customs in England, copies of them were, by fome means, procured by the court of Spain, and

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the

BOOK the absolute destruction of many of the poor people who had been concerned in transporting bullion into our islands, was the confequence. This intelligence I received foon afterwards (having at that time the direction of the custom-house in Jamaica) from a very respectable Spanish merchant, who produced to me a letter from Carthagena, containing a recital of the fact, accompanied with many shocking circumstances of unrelenting feverity in the Spanish government. Information of this being transmitted to the British ministry, the former instructions were revoked, but the remedy came too late; -for what elfe could be expected, than that the Spaniards would naturally shun all intercourse with a people, whom neither the fafety of their friends, nor their own evident interest, was sufficient to engage to confidence and fecrecy?

> THE little trade, therefore, which now fubfifts with the fubjects of Spain in America, is chiefly carried on by small vessels from Jamaica, which contrive to escape the vigilance of the guardacoftas. But although, with regard to the revival of this particular branch of commerce, I am of opinion, that the free-port law has not fo fully answered the expectation of its framers, as might have been wished; its provisions, in other respects, have been very beneficial. It has been urged against it, that it gives occasion to the introduc-

> > tion

tion of French wines, brandies, foap, cambricks, CHAP. and other prohibited articles from Hifpaniola; and there is no doubt that fmall veffels from thence frequently claim the benefit of the freeports, after having fmuggled ashore, in the various creeks and harbours of this island, where no cuftom-houses are established, large quantities of brandy (to the great prejudice of the rum-market) and other contraband goods. It may be urged too, that the permission given by the act to the importation of certain of the products of the foreign islands, is hurtful to the growers of the fame commodities in Jamaica. All this is admitted; but on the other hand, confidering the revenues and commerce of the empire at large, as objects of superior concern to local interests, it cannot be denied, that the woollen and cotton manufactories of Great Britain are of too great importance not to be supplied with the valuable materials of indigo and cotton-wool, on the easiest and cheapest terms possible. The quantities of these articles, as well as of woods for the dyer, imported in foreign bottoms into the free-ports, are very confiderable. This fubject was thoroughly investigated by the British House of Commons in 1774 (when the act would have expired); and it being given in evidence that thirty thousand people about Manchester were employed in the velvet manufactory, for which the St. Domingo cotton was best

BOOK best adapted; and that both French cotton and indigo had been imported from Jamaica at least thirty per cent. cheaper than the same could have been procured at through France—the House, difregarding all colonial opposition, came to a refolution, " that the continuance of free-ports in Jamaica would be highly beneficial to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom." The act was thereupon renewed, and has fince been made perpetual.

But the main argument which was originally adduced in defence of the establishment of freeports in Jamaica, was founded on the idea that those ports would become the great mart for supplying foreigners with negroes. It was faid, that in order to have negroes plenty in our own islands, every encouragement must be thrown out to the African merchant, to induce him to augment his importations, and that no encouragement was fo great as that of an opportunity of felling part of them to foreigners for ready money; a temptation, It was urged, which would be, as it heretofore had been, the means that a number would be imported sufficient both for the planter's use and for the foreign demand; and it was added, that at all events the French would deal with us, if the Spaniards would not.

WHETHER it be a wife and politick measure at any time to permit British subjects to supply foreigners

foreigners with African labourers, is a question CHAP. that may admit of dispute (m). I mean, at present, to confine myself only to a recital of facts; and it is certain that the very great demand for negroes in the Ceded Islands, for some years after the act took place, affected the Jamaica import in a high degree; and in 1773, a circumstance occurred which was thought to render a renewal of the free-port law a measure of indispensable necessity. In that year the Spanish Affiento Company at Porto-Rico obtained permiffion to remove their principal factory to the Havanna, and to purchase flaves in any of the neighbouring iflands, transporting them to their own fettlements in Spanish veffels. It was eafily foreseen, that Jamaica, from its vicinity to the chief colonies of Spain, in which negroes were most in demand, would engage a preference from the purchasers; wherefore, that

(m) The re-export of negroes from the British West Indies, for the last twenty years, for the supply of the French and Spanish plantations, has not, I believe, exceeded one-fifth of the import. It was greater formerly, and during the existence of the Assiento contract, exceeded one-third.—Perhaps it would be found on the whole, that Great Britain has, by this means, during the last century, supplied her rivals and enemies with upwards of 500,000 African labourers; a circumstance which sufficiently justifies the doubt that I entertain concerning the wisdom and policy of this branch of the African commerce.

encouragement

300

BOOK encouragement might not be wanting, the British parliament not only renewed the free-port law, but also took off the duty of thirty shillings sterling a head, which, in the former act, was exacted on the exportation of negroes, and laid only a duty of two shillings and fix-pence, in lieu of it. The refult was—that the import for the next ten years, exceeded that of the ten years preceding, by no less than 22,213 negroes: and the export furpaffed that of the former period, to the number of 5,952. Such part, therefore, of this encreased export, as went to the supply of the Spanish colonies, we may attribute to the free-port law; for it is probable, from the circumstances stated, that the ancient contraband system is nearly at an end. In like manner it may be faid of the importation of foreign indigo and cotton, that if it be not made in foreign vessels, it will cease altogether; and thus, instead of infringing the navigation-act, as fome persons contend, the measure of opening the ports is ftrictly confonant to the spirit of that celebrated law; for, by furnishing an augmentation of freights to Great Britain, it tends ultimately to the encrease of our shipping.

> HAVING now, to the best of my judgment and knowledge, furnished my readers with fuch particulars as may enable them to form a tolerably correct idea of the prefent trade and productions

CHAP.

of Jamaica, I shall conclude with a concise display of its progress in cultivation at different periods, for a century past.

By a letter, dated March the 29th, 1673, from the then governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, it appears, that the island at that time contained 7,768 whites, and 9,504 negroes; its chief productions were cacao, indigo, and hides. "The weather (obferves the governor) has been feafonable, and the fuccess in planting miraculous. Major-General Bannister is now not very well, but by the next, he fends your lordship a pot of sugar, and writes you its fory." It would feem from hence, that the cultivation of fugar was then but just entered upon, and that Blome, who afferts there were feventy fugar-works in 1670, was misinformed. So late as the year 1722, the island made only eleven thousand hogsheads of sugar, of sixteen hundred weight.

From that time I have no authentick account until the year 1734, when the island contained 7,644 whites (n), 86,546 negroes, and 76,011 head of cattle. The value of the imports from this island to Great Britain, about this period,

(n) The circumstance of the decrease of the white inhabitants for the first fixty years, may appear strange. It was owing, without doubt, to the decline of the privateering trade, which gave full employment to the first adventurers.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK were stated (as we have seen) by the Commisfioners of Trade, at £. 539,499. 18. 3\frac{1}{2}. fterling. Of the particulars I have no account. In the year 1739, the export of fugar was 33,155 hogfheads, of 14 cwt.

> In 1744, the numbers were 9,640 whites, 112,428 negroes, and 88,036 head of cattle. The exports at this period, were about 35,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 10,000 puncheons of rum, exclusive of smaller articles. The whole might be worth f. 600,000 sterling.

> In 1768, the whites were supposed to have been 17,000. The number of negroes on the tax-rolls were 166,914, and the cattle 135,773 head. The exports (the value of which could not be less at that time than 1,400,000 sterling) were these:

> > EXPORTS

WEST INDIES.

303 CHAP. V.

EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1768.

CULTIVATION,

304

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK II. no

CULTIVATION, in all parts of Jamaica, was now making a great and rapid progress. In 1774, the exports were considerably encreased: The following account of them is extracted from the books of office, kept within the island.

EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1774.

	Hhds.of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	Hhds.of Puns of Coffee, of India of Itogals, Itogals. Isogals and Itogals. Itogals.	Bagsor Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Barrels of Indi- go, of 300 lbs.	Bags ofGin- ger, of 70 lbs.	Bags of Pimen- to, of Icolbs.	Cafks of ditto, of 300 lbs.	Bags of Cot- ton, of 200 lbs.	Hhds. of Me- laffes, 60gals	Log- Feet of wood, Maho-codFuf- gany.	Feet of Maho- gany.	Hides.
To Great Britain 3	76,344	76,344 17,348 3,684	3,684	437	2,348	13,797	276	2,022	69	1,286	437 2,348 13,797 276 2,022 69 1,286½ 117,200	656
To North America	1,960	1,960 8,726 2,863	2,863	H	579		47	552 47 88	951		261 12,080 8,636	8,636
Total -	78,304	26,074	6,547	438	2,927	14,349	323	2,110	1,020	1,313	- 78,304 26,074 6,547 438 2,927 14,349 323 2,110 1,020 1,313 129,280 9,292	9,292

THE

THE amount of the fum total, according to the CHAP. prices current, including the fame allowance for miscellaneous articles, of which no precise account can be obtained, as was allowed by the Inspector-General for the year 1787, may be fairly flated at two millions of pounds sterling.

But Jamaica had now nearly attained the meridian of its prosperity (n); for early in the following year, the fatal and unnatural war which has terminated in the difmemberment of the empire, began its destructive progress; in the course of which, the blameless inhabitants of this and the rest of the British sugar islands, felt all its effects without having merited the flightest imputation on their conduct. Their fources of fupply for plantation necessaries were cut off, and protection at sea, if not denied, was not given; so that their produce was feized in its way to Great Britain, and confiscated without interruption or mercy. To fill up the measure of their calamities, the anger of the Almighty was kindled against them; -no less than five destructive hurricanes in the space of seven years, as I have elsewhere observed, spread

(n) The greatest improvement which Jamaica has manifested since 1774, has been in the encreased number of its coffee plantations. In that year, the export of coffee, as we have feen, was 654,700 lbs. In 1780, the crop having been shipped before the hurricane happened, the export was 735,392 lbs. For the last ten years, see the Appendix, No II.

VOL. I.

ruin

306

II.

BOOK fuin and desolation throughout every island! The last of these terrible visitations in Jamaica, happened in 1786. Since that time, however, the feafons have been favourable; and the crops of 1788, 1789 and 1790, were confiderable. May the inhabitants be thankful, that it has thus pleafed the Divine Providence to remember mercy in judgment; and may past misfortunes teach them those lessons of fortitude, frugality, and forefight, which always alleviate afflictions, and formetimes even convert them into bleffings.

NOTHING now remains but to flate the value of this island, considered as British property; of which the estimate is formed as follows: -250,000 negroes at fifty pounds fferling each, make twelve millions and a half; the landed and personal property to which these negroes are appurtenant (including the buildings) are very fairly and moderately reckoned at double the value of the flaves themselves; making twenty-five millions in addition to the twelve million five hundred thousand pounds I have flated before; and in further addition, the houses and property in the towns, and the veffels employed in the trade, are valued at one million five hundred thousand pounds; amounting in the whole to thirty-nine millions. of pounds sterling.

CHAP.

IN this delightful Island, thus variegated by the hand of nature, and improved by the industry of man, it was my fortune to pass the spring of my life, under the protection and guidance of men whose wisdom instructed, whose virtues I hope improved me, -and whose tenderness towards me expired only with the last figh that deprived me of them for ever. Towards persons whose memories are thus dear to me,—who were at once a bleffing and an ornament to the country of which I write, -my readers will I hope allow me to offer in this place a tribute of affectionate and respectful remembrance. One of those persons devoted some years to the improvement of my mind in the purfuits of knowledge. From the precepts and instructions, and still more from the beautiful compositions, of Is AAC TEALE, I imbibed in my youth that relish for polite literature, the enjoyment of which is now become the folace of my declining years. If the publick has received my writings with favour, it becomes me to declare that, whatever merit they posses is due to the leffons inculcated, and the examples supplied by my revered and lamented friend. He was a clergyman of the Church of England, and having for twenty years discharged the pastoral duties of X 2

a coun-

308

BOOK a country curacy in an obscure part of Kent, was reluctantly prevailed on, at the age of fortyfive, to exchange his stipend of £. 40. per annum, for preferment in Jamaica. Here, his virtues, learning and talents attracted the notice of my diffinguished relation and bountiful benefactor, ZACHARY BAYLY; by whose kindness he was enabled to spend the remainder of his days in leifure and independency. In the fociety of these valuable friends, chiefly under the same roof, I paffed the days of my youth, until my amiable preceptor in the first place, and my generous benefactor a few years afterwards (neither of them having reached his 50th year) funk into an untimely grave! Of Zachary Bayly, the renown is familiar to every one who has refided in Jamaica at any time during the last forty years. I endeavoured to delineate his character on the stone which I inscribed to his memory; and fondly hoping that my book will be read where the stone cannot be inspected, I transfer to this page what his monument imperfectly records:

INSCRIPTION

INSCRIPTION IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, JAMAICA.

CHAP.

Near this place
lie the remains of
ZACHARY BAYLY,
Custos and Chief Magistrate of the precinct
of St. Mary and St. George, and one of his Majesty's
Hon: Council of this Island,
Who died on the 18th Dec. 1769,
in the 48th year of his age.

He was a Man
To whom the endowments of Nature render'd those
of Art superfluous.
He was wife without the affishance of recorded wisdom,

And eloquent beyond the precepts of scholastick rhetorick.

He applied, not to Books, but to Men, And drank of Knowledge, not from the stream, but the source.

To Genius, which might have been fortunate without Industry,

He added Industry, which, without Genius, might have commanded Fortune.

He acquired Wealth with Honour, And feemed to possess it only to be liberal,

His Publick Spirit

was not less ardent than his Private Benevolence;
He considered Individuals as Brethren,
And his Country as a Parent.

May his Talents be remembered with respect, His Virtues with emulation!

X 3

Here

310 B O O K

HISTORY OF THE

Here also lies

(mingled with the same earth) the dust of

NATHANIEL BAYLY EDWARDS,

his Nephew:

In whom distinguished abilities and an amiable

disposition,

affisted by such an example,

gave the promise of equal excellence;

When, on the 28th of January 1771,

in the 21st year of his age,

He paid the debt to Nature:

His furviving Brother,
BRYAN EDWARDS,
Inscribes this Stone as a memorial of his Gratitude,
Affection, and Esteem.

APPEN-

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

No. I.

A general state of agriculture, and Negro population in the island of Jamaica, at the close of 1791, from the report of a Committee of the House of Assembly.

of hipomony.		
	Number.	Negroes employed thereon.
Sugar plantations,	767 -	140,000
Coffee plantations	607 -	21,000
Grazing and breeding farms		
called penns	1,047 -	31,000
Of small settlements for the		
growth of cotton, ginger,		
pimento, corn and other		
provisions, the number is	ļ	
not ascertained: they are	}	58,000
fupposed (including the		
Negroes in the feveral		
towns) to give employment		
to		
	_	

Total number of enflaved Negroes } 250,000

X 4

312

BOOK II.

No. II.

An account of the number of sugar plantations in the island of Jamaica in 1772, and again in 1791, distinguishing the parishes; also the number in each parish which were sold, in the interim, for the payment of debts;—the number remaining in 1791 in the hands of mortgagees, trustees or receivers;—the number thrown up and abandoned, or converted into other cultivation between the two periods:—and the number of new plantations recently settled, or which were settling, at the end of the last period.

PARISHES.	Abandoned fince 1772 In the hands of mortgagees, truftees or receivers. Sold for the payment of debts fince 1772 Plantations in the hands of the pro- prietors	New plantations of in 1792
Westmorland -	- 39 - 7 - 16 - 11 -	4
Hanover	- 40 - 22 - 9 - 4 -	8
St. James	- 49 - 13 - 15 - 3 -	6
St. Elizabeth -	- 16 - 2 - 3 - 11 -	2
Trelawny	- 65 - 14 - 4 - 1 -	7
Total in the County	7	
of Cornwall	${}^{209} - 58 - 47 - 30 -$	27

St. Mary

VV 25	or indies.	313
PARISHES.	Abandoned fince 17/2 In the hands of mortgagees, truftees, or receivers Sold for the payment of debts fince 17/2 Plantations in the hands of the proprietors	New plantations in 1792
St. Mary	- 37 - 21 - 8 - 0 -	2
Clarendon	- 37 - 18 - 2 - 1 -	2
Vere	22 - 3 - 1 - 1 -	3
St. Dorothy -	6-6-0-0-	3
St. John	- 13 - 3 - 3 - 1 -	0
St. Katharine -	2 - 1 - 0 - 3 -	1 00
St. Thomas in the Vale	17 - 13 - 3 - 3 -	0
St. Anne	15 - 9 - 6 - 2 -	I
Total in the County of Middlesex }	149 - 74 - 23 - 11 -	12
St. Andrew -	14 - 8 - 2 - 1 -	0
Port Royal	3 - 0 - 0 - 1 -	0
Portland -	15 - 6 - 1 - 4 -	2
St. George	7 - 3 - 4 - 3 -	5
St. Thomas in 7		
the East 5	48 - 23 - 14 - 5 -	0
St. David	6 - 5 - 1 - 0 -	I
Kingston	0-0-0-0-	0
Total in the County of Surry }	93 - 45 - 22 - 14 -	8
GRAND TOTAL -	451 - 177 - 92 - 55 -	47

Summary

314

BOOK

Summary.

Existing plantations in 1791 - - - 720
Plantations then recently settled or settling - 47
Total number of sugar estates in 1791 - - 767

Observations.

From the preceding table it is sufficiently obvious, that in the course of twenty years ending 1791, the planters of Jamaica (however profitably employed in the fervice of the mother-country) were labouring to little purpose for themfelves: it appearing that no less than 177 fugar plantations had been fold, during that period, for the payment of debts; -that 55 had been abandoned by the proprietors, and that 92 others remained in the hands of creditors! Since the year 1791, a favourable change has taken place, and it is prefumed that at this time (December 1797) near 200,000 negroes are employed folely in the cultivation of fugar; but the most rapid improvement which this island has experienced is a vast encrease in the growth of coffee. The following is an authentick return from the naval officer:-viz.

ACCOUNT

Account of Coffee exported from the Island of Jamaica for 10 Years, viz. 1787, to 1797:

APPEN-DIX.

		lbs. to	lbs. to
F 0 A 0		Great-Britain.	America.
From 1st August 1			~
to 1st August	: 1788	808,528	393,273
	1789	1,204,649	382,489
	1790	1,412,241	427,130
	1791	2,114,326	291,764
	1792	2,708,548	144,849
	1793	3,543,003	69,657
	1794	4,314,290	257,103
	1795	4,452,611	1,479,961
	1796	5,273,814	1,757,444
	1797	6,708,272	1,223,349
Total -		32,540,282	6,427,019
	*		-

^{**} In the former editions of this work was subjoined to this Appendix, an Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica, which being found by the printer too long for the first volume of this edition, is now transferred to volume the third.

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

O F

The British Colonies in the West Indies.

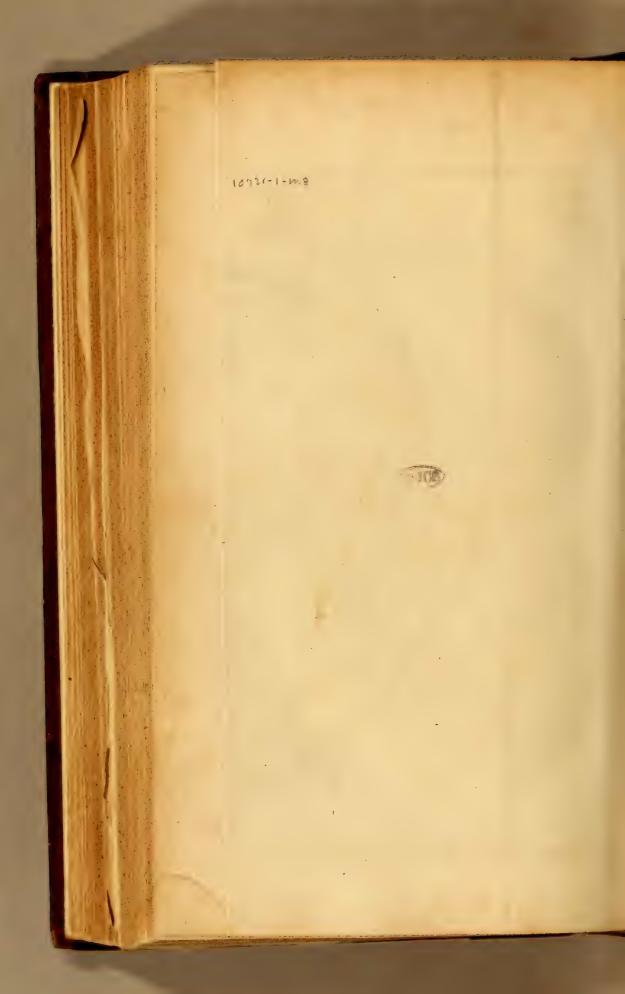
BOOK III.

ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

CHAP. I. BARBADOES.

First arrival of the English at this island.—Origin, progress, and termination of the proprietary government.—Revenue granted to the crown of $4^{\frac{1}{2}}$ per centum on all produce exported—how obtained,—origin of the act of navigation.—Situation and extent of the island.—Soil and produce.—Population.—Decline, and causes thereof.—Exports and imports.

BOOK III. THE island of Barbadoes, of which I now propose to treat, was probably first discovered by the Portuguese in their voyages from Brasil; and from them it received the name which



pants or claimants. The Charaibes, for reasons altogether unknown to us, had deserted it, and the Portuguese, satisfied with the splendid regions they had acquired on the continent, seem to have considered it as of little value. Having furnished it with a breed of swine for the benefit of such of their countrymen as might navigate the same track, they left the island in all other respects as they found it.

OF the English, the first who are known to have landed in this island, were the crew of a ship called the Olive Blossom, bound from London to Surinam, in 1605, and fitted out at the expence of Sir Olive Leigh, whom Purchas stiles 'a worshipful knight of Kent.' Finding it without inhabitants, they took possession of the country, by fixing up a cross on the spot where James-Town was afterwards built, with this inscription, "James king of England and this island;" but they began no settlement, nor made any considerable stay in a country entirely uninhabited and overgrown with woods; yet it furnished them with fresh provisions. They sound pigs, pigeons, and parrots, and the sea abounded with sish.

Some years after this, a ship of Sir William Courteen's, a merchant of London, returning

(a) It is faid not to have been noticed in any sea-chart before the year 1600.

from

III.

BOOK from Brazil, was driven by stress of weather into this island, and finding refreshments on it, the master and seamen, on their arrival in England, made so favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of the country, that Lord Ley (afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord High Treasurer) immediately obtained from King James the First a grant of the island to himself and his heirs in perpetuity.

> COURTEEN himself was a man of extensive views and magnificent projects. He immediately began (probably under the patronage of Marlborough) to form ideas of establishing a colony in the distant but promising territory. Having engaged about thirty perfons to fettle in the island, and furnished them with tools, provisions, and necessaries of all kinds for planting and fortifying the country, he appointed William Deane their governor, and fent them away in a ship called the William and John, commanded by John Powell. They arrived fafe in the latter end of the year 1624, and laid the foundations of a town, which, in honour of the fovereign, they denominated JAMES-Town; and thus began the first English settlement in the island of Barbadoes.

For fome time previous to this, it had become fashionable in England, for men of high rank and distinction to engage in sea adventures, proclaiming

proclaiming themselves the patrons of coloni- CHAP. zation and foreign commerce. In the lift of those who contributed to the British settlements in Virginia, New England, the Bermuda islands, and other places in the new world, may be found the names of many of the first nobility and gentry of the kingdom. Among others who diftinguished themselves in such pursuits, at the time that Barbadoes was thus planted by a private merchant, was James Hay, earl of Carlisle. This nobleman was at that juncture engaged in the establishment of a colony in the island of St. Christopher (as we shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to relate) and, either not knowing of the Earl of Marlborough's patent, or conceiving that it interfered with his own pretenflons (b), he applied for and obtained, in the first year of Charles I, a warrant for a grant, by letters patent under the great feal of England, of all the Charaibean islands including Barbadoes; but when the grant came to be actually paffed, the Earl of Marlborough opposed it, on the ground of priority of right. The dispute between these noble lords continued for a considerable

(b) It is faid that he had obtained from James I. a grant, or warrant for a grant, under the great feal, of all the Charaibean islands, which the king erected into a province by the name of Carliola, on the model of the palatinate of Durham.

time:

III.

BOOK time; at length the contending parties thought it prudent to compromise the matter, and, on the Earl of Carlifle's undertaking to pay the annual fum of f. 300 to the Earl of Marlborough and his heirs for ever, Marlborough waved his patent, and, in consequence of this arrangement, on the 2d of June 1627, the Earl of Carlifle's patent paffed the great feal, who thereupon became fole proprietor (c).

DURING

(c) Among other clauses in this grant are the following. "Further know ye, that we, for us our heirs and fucceffors, have authorized and appointed the faid James Earl of Carlifle, and his heirs (of whose fidelity, prudence, justice, and wifdom, we have great confidence) for the good and happy government of the faid province, whether for the publick fecurity of the faid province or the private utility of every man, to make, erect, and fet forth, and under his or their fignet to publish, such laws as he the faid Earl of Carlifle, or his heirs, with the consent, assent, and approbation of the free inhabitants of the faid province or the greater part of them, thereunto to be called, and in such form as he or they in his or their discretion shall think fit and best. And these laws must all men for the time being, that do live within the limits of the faid province, obferve; whether they be bound to fea, or from thence returning to England, or any other our dominions, or any other place appointed, upon fuch impositions, penalties, imprisonment, or restraint that it behoveth, and the quality of the offence requireth, either upon the body, or death itself, to be executed by the faid James earl of Carlifle, and by his heirs, or by his or their deputy, judges, justices, magistrates, officers, and ministers, according to the tenor and true meaning of these presents, in what cause soever, and with such power

DURING this contest about the disposal of CHAP. countries most of which were at that time in

as to him the faid James earl of Carlifle, or his heir, shall feem best; and to dispose of offences or riots whatsoever, either by fea or land, whether before judgment received, or after remitted, freed, pardoned or forgiven; and to do and to perform all and every thing and things, which to the fulfilling of juftice, courts or manner of proceeding in their tribunal, may or doth belong or appertain, although express mention of them in these presents be not made, yet we have granted full power by virtue of these presents therein to be made; which laws fo absolutely proclaimed, and by strength of right supported as they are granted, we will, enjoin, charge, and command all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and fucceffors, fo far as them they do concern, inviolably to keep and observe, under the pains therein expressed; fo as notwithstanding the aforefaid laws be agreeable and not repugnant unto reason, nor against it; but as convenient and agreeable as may be to the laws, statutes, customs, and rights of our kingdom of England."-" We will also, of our princely grace, for us, our heirs and fuccessors, straightly charge, make, and ordain, that the faid province be of our allegiance, and that all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and fuccessors, brought or to be brought, and their children, whether there born or afterwards to be born, become natives and subjects of us, our heirs and successors, and be as free as they that were born in England; and fo their inheritance within our kingdom of England, or other our dominions, to feek, receive, take, hold, buy, and possess, and use and enjoy them as his own, and to give, sell, alter, and bequeath them at their pleasure; and also freely, quietly, and peaceably, to have and possess all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of this kingdom, and them to use and enjoy as liege people of England, whether born, or to be born, without impediment, moleftation, vexation, injury or trouble of us our heirs and fuccessors, any statute, act, ordinance, or proviso, to the contrary notwithstanding."

VOL. I.

Y

the

BOOK the hands of their proper owners, the Charaibes; the man, who alone had the merit of annexing the plantation of Barbadoes to the crown of England, feems to have been shamefully neglected. The Earl of Marlborough, having fecured to himself and his posterity, the gratification I have mentioned, deferted him; and the Lord Carlisle, having done him premeditated injury, became his irreconcileable enemy. Courteen, however, found a friend in William Earl of Pembroke, who represented his case in such a light to the King, as to obtain a revocation of Carlifle's patent, and a grant to himself in trust for Courteen.

Bur the hopes of this worthy citizen were of short continuance. The Earl of Carlisle was, at that juncture, absent from the kingdom, a circumstance which gave some colour to his charge of injustice and precipitancy in the proceeding. On his return to England, he complained that he had been condemned and deprived of his property unheard; and the monarch on the throne, who feems, through the whole of his unfortunate reign, rather to have wanted resolution to pursue the right path, than fagacity to difcern it, trod back his ground a fecond time; for unable to refift the clamorous importunity of a worthless favourite, he actually annulled the grant to the Earl of Pembroke, and, by fecond letters patent to the Earl of Carlisle, again restored to him the CHAP. privileges of which he had himself, a short time before, deprived him.

THUS by an act of power, which its repugnancy and abfurdity alone rendered illegal, the Earl of Carlifle again found himfelf lord paramount of Barbadoes; and in order completely to ruin all the interests in the colony of his competitor, he proceeded to distribute the lands to fuch persons as chose to receive grants at his hands on the terms proposed to them. A society of London merchants (d) accepted ten thousand acres, on conditions which promifed great advantage to the proprietor; but they were allowed the liberty of fending out a person to preside over their concerns in the colony, and they made choice for this purpose of Charles Woolferstone, who repaired to the island, accompanied with fixty-four persons, each of whom was authorized to take up one hundred acres of land.

THESE people landed on the fifth of July, 1628, at which time Courteen's fettlement was in a very promising condition; but Woolferstone declared it an encroachment and usurpation, and being supported by the arrival of Sir William

(d) The names of those merchants were Marmaduke Brandon, William Perkin, Alexander Banister, Robert Wheatley, Edmond Forster, Robert Swinnerton, Henry Wheatly, John Charles, and John Farringdon.

Y 2

Tufton,

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK Tufton, who was fent out as chief governor by Lord Carlifle, in 1629, with a force fufficient for the maintenance of his pretenfions, he compelled the friends of Courteen to fubmit; and the interests of the latter were thenceforth swallowed up and forgotten (e).

THE facts which I have thus recited have been related so often by others, that an apology might be necessary for their infertion in this work, were it not, that by comparing one account with another, I have been enabled to correct fome important errors in each. And the claim of the Earl of Carlisle having originally introduced and established the very heavy internal imposition on their gross produce, to which the planters of this, and some of the neighbouring islands, are to this day liable; I have thought it necessary to be particular and minute, in tracing the claim itself from the beginning. In what manner it produced the burthen in question, and how Barbadoes reverted from a proprietary to a royal government, I shall now proceed to relate.

THE administration of Sir William Tufton, the first governor appointed by Lord Carlisle, proving difagreeable to his lordship, Captain

Henry

⁽e) In this year, Sir William Tufton gave 140 grants of land, comprizing in the whole 15,872 acres, and on the 23d of February, 1630, he paffed divers laws, and among others, one for dividing the island into fix parishes.

Henry Hawley was fent over in 1631 to superfede him. Tufton refenting this measure, procured the fignatures of fome of the planters to a petition complaining of Hawley's conduct. Hawley construed this petition into an act of mutiny on the part of Tufton, for which he had him tried and condemned by a court-martial, and with very little ceremony caused him to be shot to death; a proceeding univerfally exclaimed against as a most horrid and atrocious murder. Hawley, however, though recalled on this account, not only escaped punishment through the interest of his noble patron, but was soon afterwards fent back again as chief governor; in which capacity he remained till 1638, when he was driven from the country by the united voice of all the inhabitants; who however permitted his brother, William Hawley, to act as commander in chief, until a governor should be nominated at home. He was fucceeded by Major Hunckes, who, leaving the island in 1641, appointed Philip Bell, Esquire, his deputy, and Bell, in 1645, was appointed chief governor (f). But the conduct

of

(f) During the administration of this gentleman, many

ift. "An Act for the continuance and observation of all acts and statutes not repealed;" which act recites that there were divers and fundry good and wholesome laws, statutes, and ordinances provided, enacted, and made, assigned, and Y 3 agreed

falutary laws were passed; among others the following:

HAP.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK of Hawley, thus violent and bloody, and the fupport which he received from the proprietor, had alienated the minds of the new fettlers from power thus delegated and abused; and the proprietor's authority loft ground every day. In the mean time, the civil war in England caused many

> agreed upon, by and with the affent, confent, and approbation of the governor, council, and freeholders out of every parish of the island, intituled, A General Assembly for that purpose cleeted, made, and chosen. And it is thereby enacted, that none of those laws shall be altered, or any thing added to to them, without the confent of a like General Affembly. And that every parifu should have two representatives at least, to be elected by the freeholders.

> 2d. A addition to an act intituled, "An Act for fettling the estates and titles of the inhabitants of this island to their possessions in their several plantations within the same:" it is therein recited, that in a clause in the first act it is ordained, that all the inhabitants of this island, that were in quiet poffession of any lands or tenements by virtue of any warrant from any former governor, or by conveyance or other act in law, from them who had the fame warrant, should have, hold, and enjoy the same, as their free estate: and, as some scruples had fince arisen, whether an estate for life or inheritance might be construed from the same, for want of the words their heirs; to the intent the fame might be more fully explained, and all disputes of that kind for the future abolished, it is enacted, that by the words as their free effates, was meant, the whole estate and inheritance of the respective plantations within this island, fo that by fuch possession in manner as by the faid act is expressed, the faid inhabitants are thereby adjudged and declared to have and to hold their lands of right to them, to dispose of or alienate, or otherwise to descend, or be confirmed to their heirs for ever."

> > people,



people, of peaceable tempers and dispositions, CHAP. chiefly royalists, to take refuge in this island; and 'the confequent ruin of the King's affairs induced a still greater number, many of whom had been officers of rank in his fervice, to follow their example. The emigration from the mother-country to this island was indeed fo great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes, half of them able to bear arms, and furnishing even a regiment of horse to the num-

"THESE adventurers," fays Lord Clarendon, " planted without any body's leave, and without " being opposed or contradicted by any body." The case seems to have been, that the governor granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himself; and the claim of the proprietor, whether disputed in the island, or disregarded amidst the confusions at home, was at length tacitly and filently relinquished (g).

ber of one thousand.

THE colony, left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flourished beyond example. In the year 1646, however, the then Earl of Carlifle, who was fon and heir of the patentee, stimulated by the renown of its

(g) Lord Carliffe had originally stipulated for an annual tribute of forty pounds of cotton wool from each person who held lands under his grant.

Y 4

wealth

BOOK wealth and prosperity, began to revive his claims as hereditary proprietor; and, entering into a treaty with Lord Willoughby of Parham, conveyed to that nobleman all his rights by lease for twenty-one years, on condition of receiving one half the profits in the mean time; but justly apprehending that the resident planters might dispute his pretensions, he very readily concurred with Lord Willoughby in foliciting a commission for the latter, as chief governor, under the fanction of regal authority (b).

THIS, though an absolute dereliction of the proprietaryship, was asked and obtained; and the Lord Willoughby, thus commissioned, embarked for his government; and, in confideration of the royal appointment, was received by the inhabitants, who were warmly attached to the King's interest, with respect and obedience. It feems probable, that at his first coming, he faid nothing of his leafe from Carlifle; trusting rather to future management for the re-establishment of that lord's pretensions, than to an open avowal of them on his arrival. We are told, however, by Lord Clarendon, that he obtained from the planters a promise of a contribu-

tion

⁽h) When this application was made, the King was in the hands of the parliament; the commission therefore, with his Majesty's privity and approbation, was figured by the Prince of Wales, at that time in Holland.

tion to the proprietor; but before it was carried into effect, the regal authority was abolished in England, and Barbadoes reduced to the obedience of the new republick, by whom another governor was appointed.

On the restoration of Charles II. and the reestablishment of the royal authority over all the British dominions (i), Lord Willoughby, who had eight or nine years of his lease unexpired. applied to the King for leave to return to his government of Barbadoes. To this application no objection would have been made by the inhabitants, if his lordship had considered himself. merely as representative of the crown; but his connection and contract with the Earl of Carlifle, were by this time fufficiently understood by the planters, who faw with aftonishment that they were regarded by those great lords as mere tenants at will of their poffessions. They solicited therefore the King's support and protection. "They pleaded," fays Clarendon, "that they were the King's fubjects; that they had repaired to Barba-

(i) On the 18th of February, 1661, his Majesty honoured thirteen gentlemen of Barbadoes with the dignity of baronetage, in consideration of their sufferings and loyalty during the civil war: They were, Sir John Colleton, Sir James Modiford, Sir James Drax, Sir Robert Davers, Sir Robert Hacket, Sir John Yeamans, Sir Timothy Thornhill, Sir John Witham, Sir Robert Legard, Sir John Worsum, Sir John Rawdon, Sir Edwyn Stede, Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.

does

BOOK does as to a defolate place, and had by their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England; that if they should now be left to those lords to ranfom themselves and compound for their estates. they must leave the country, and the plantation be destroyed, which yielded his Majesty so great a revenue." Respecting the charter granted to the earl of Carlifle, they infifted positively that it was void in law; and they made two humble propositions to the King, either that his Majesty would give them leave to institute in his name, but at their own cost, a process in the Exchequer for trying the validity of the earl's patent; or that he would leave those who claimed under it (for the fecond Earl of Carlifle dying in the interim, had bequeathed his rights in the West Indies to the earl of Kinnoul) to their legal remedy, absolutely denying that either the late or former Lord Carlifle had fuftained the smallest expence in fettling the colony.

INSTEAD of confenting to either of those most reasonable propositions, the King ordered enquiry to be made into the feveral allegations, and claims of the parties concerned, by a committee of the privy-council; before whom some of the planters being heard, one of them, in order more readily to induce the King to take the fovereignty of the island into his own hands, offered.

fered, in the name of the inhabitants, to confent, CHAP. in that case, to lay an imposition of so much in the hundred on the produce of their estates, out of which his Majesty's governor might be honourably supported, and the King dispose of the overplus as he should think fit. To a monarch of Charles's disposition, this was too tempting a proposition to be resisted. We are informed that his Majesty received the offer very graciously; " and the next care of the committee," adds the noble historian, who was himself of that body, "was to make fome computation, that might be depended upon, as to the yearly revenue, that would arise upon the imposition within the island." But the planters, when called up the next day to give fatisfaction in this particular, infifted that Mr. Kendall, the person who had made the offer, had no authority to undertake for them, or the inhabitants within the island; and the utmost they could be brought to promife for themselves was, that they would use their endeavours with their friends in the island, to settle such a revenue on the crown as the circumstances of the colony would admit of, which they faid the affembly alone was competent to determine.

THE prospect of a revenue, though distant and uncertain, brought forward the creditors of the Earl of Carlisle, the patentee, who was indebted, it feems, at his death, in the fum of f. 80,000.

BOOK f. 80,000, and they had no hopes of being paid but from the profits of his West Indian possesfions. The heirs of the Earl of Marlborough likewise put in their claim for the arrearage of the annuity of £. 300, granted under the original compromise which I have before mentioned; and the Lord Willoughby infifted at the same time on receiving a moiety of whatever profits might arise during the remainder of the term yet unexpired in his leafe. The other moiety, during that time, and the whole in reversion, was claimed by the Earl of Kinnoul.

To fatisfy these several claimants, and secure a perpetual revenue to the crown, was a work of difficulty, and its accomplishment seems to have been the sole aim of the King's ministers; by whom, after a tedious but partial investigation (considering the colony as wholly at the King's mercy) it was finally ordered, that the Lord Willoughby should immediately repair to his government, and infift on the grant and establishment by the affembly of a permanent and irrevocable revenue of four and half per cent. to be paid in specie, on all dead commodities, the growth of the island, shipped to any port of the world; the money arifing therefrom to be applied as follows:

FIRST, towards an honourable and immediate provision for the Earl of Kinnoul, who, it was alledged,

CHAP.

alledged, had facrificed his fortune in the King's fervice, and who covenanted, on fuch provision being secured to him, to surrender the Carlisle patent to the crown:

SECONDLY, towards fatisfaction and full difcharge of the Earl of Marlborough's annuity:

THIRDLY, it was stipulated that the surplus should be divided equally between the creditors of the Earl of Carlisle and the Lord Willoughby, during the term yet unexpired of his lordship's lease. On the expiration thereof, the remainder, after providing £. 1,200 per annum for the King's governor for the time being, was ordered to be paid among the said creditors till their demands were fully satisfied and discharged:

FOURTHLY, on the extinction of those several incumbrances, it was stipulated that the whole revenue, subject to the charge of £. 1,200 per annum to the governor, should be at the disposal of the crown.

On these terms it was understood that the proprietary government was to be dissolved, and that the planters were to consider themselves as legally confirmed in possession of their estates; and to carry into effect the important point, on which the whole arrangement depended (the grant of a perpetual revenue by the assembly) Lord Willoughby returned to his government in 1663.

It is not wonderful that the planters, on his lordship's

BOOK lordship's arrival, though devoted to the interests of the crown, should have loudly murmured at the conduct and determination of the British government in the progress and conclusion of the Clarendon himself confesses, whole business. that the grant to Carlifle was voidable by law. The King therefore laid them under no great obligation in obtaining a furrender of it. Many of the planters had been obliged to quit their native country in consequence of their exertions in support of the royal cause during the civil war: by the late fettlement they perceived a regard expressed towards every interest concerned but their own; and the return which they met with, both for their former fervices, and also for augmenting the trade, revenue, and dominion of the parent state by their recent labours, was a demand of a contribution, which they stated would amount to ten per cent. on the clear profits of their estates for ever.

Bur their complaints, though well founded, were unavailing. The King and his governor were too deeply interested to recede. The affembly was called upon to forge chains for themfelves and their children; and if persuasion should fail, force was not only at hand, but was actually employed to compel them to fubmission. Colonel Farmer, who led the party in opposition, was arrested and sent prisoner to England, on a charge

charge of mutiny and treason, nor was he released CHAP. till after a tedious and severe confinement. Awed by this example, and fensible that no support could be expected from the people at home, whose privileges lay proftrate at the feet of the restored monarch, the assembly passed an act for the purposes required of them; and their posterity still bear, and it is apprehended will long continue to bear, the burthen of it (k)!

THE

(k) I have thought it may be fatisfactory to the reader to have an opportunity of perufing the act at large, which I therefore subjoin, premising that the clause which exempts the lands called the 10,000 acres, and also that which stipulates for the building a fessions-house, and a prison, and providing for all other public charges incumbent on the government, out of the monies to be raifed by the act, have been equally difregarded by the crown. The feffion-house and prison were not finished until the year 1730, and the expence (upwards of £.5,000) was then defraved by a special tax on the inhabitants; and there was raifed by other taxes no less a sum than £.19,440. 1s. 4d. in three years (viz. from 1745 to 1748) for the repair of the fortifications.

> An ACT for settling the Impost on the Commodities of the Growth of this Island; passed the 12th of September, 1663.-Nº 36.

WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord Charles the First, of bleffed memory, did, by his letters patent under the great feal of England, grant and convey unto James Earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, the propriety of this island of Barbadoes: And his facred Majesty that now is having by purchase invested himself in all the rights of the said Earl of Carlifle, and in all other rights which any other person may claim from that patent, or any other; and thereby,



HISTORY OF THE

BOOK

THE conduct of the Lord Chancellor Clarens don in this affair, who indeed appears to have been

more immediately and particularly, hath taken this island into his royal protection. And his most excellent Majesty having, by letters patent under the great feal of England, bearing date the twelfth of June, in the fifteenth year of his reign, appointed his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief-governor of Barbadoes and all the Caribbee islands, with full power and authority to grant, confirm, and affure to the inhabitants of the same, and their heirs, for ever, all lands, tenements, and hereditaments under his Majesty's great seal appointed for Barbadoes and the rest of the Caribbee islands, as, relation being thereunto had, may and doth more at large appear. And whereas, by virtue of the faid Earl of Carlifle's patent, divers governors and agents have been fent over hither, with authority to lay out, fet, grant, or convey in parcels the lands within this island, to fuch persons as they should think fit; which was by them, in their respective times, as much as in them lay, accordingly performed. And whereas many have not their grants, warrants, and other evidences for their faid lands, and others, by reason of the ignorances of those, want sufficient and legal words to create inheritances in them and their heirs, and others that never recorded their grants, or warrants, and others that can make no proof of any grants or warrants they ever had for their lands; and yet have been long and quiet possessor of the same, and bestowed great charges thereon. And whereas the acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton per head, and other taxes and compositions formerly raifed to the Earl of Carlifle, was held very heavy: For a full remedy thereof for all the defects afore-related, and quieting the possessions and fettling the tenures of the inhabitants of this island; Be it enacted by his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c. his council, and gentlemen of the affembly, and by the authority of the fame, that notwithstanding the defects afore-related all the now rightbeen the person chiefly consulted in it, was afterwards thought so justly reprehensible, as to give occasion

CHAP.

ful policifors of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within this island, according to the laws and customs thereof, may at all times repair unto his Excellency for the full confirmation of their estates and tenures, and then and there shall and may receive fuch full confirmation and affurance, under his Majesty's great seal for this island, as they can reasonably advise or defire, according to the true intent and meaning of this act. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that all and every the payments of forty pounds of cotton per head, and all other duties, rents, and arrears of rent which have or might have been levied, be from henceforth absolutely and fully released and made void; and that the inhabitants of this island have and hold their feveral plantations to them and their heirs for ever, in free and common foccage, yielding and paying therefore, at the feast of St. Michael every year, if the same be lawfully demanded, one ear of Indian corn to his Majesty, his heirs and fuccesfors for ever, in full and free discharge of all rents and fervices for the future whatfoever, in confideration of the release of the faid forty pounds, and in confideration of the confirmation of all estates in this island as aforesaid, and in acknowledgment of his Majesty's grace and favour in fending to and appointing over us his faid Excellency, of whose prudence and moderate government we have heretofore had large experience, and do rest most affured thereof for the future. And forafmuch as nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every fingle person therein, than that the publick revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the publick charges and expences; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in maintaining the honour and dignity of his Majesty's authority here; the publick meeting of the fessions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, the building a sessions-house and a prison, and all other publick charges incumbent on the government; VOL. I. do

воок occasion to the eighth article of his impeachment by the House of Commons in the year 1667.

From

do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his Majesty, his heirs and fucceffors for ever, and do most humbly desire your Excellency to accept these our grants; and we humbly pray your Excellency that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief governor of this island of Barbadoes, and all other the Caribbee Islands, and by and with the confent of the council and the gentlemen of the affembly, representatives of this island, and by authority of the fame, That an impost or custom be, from and after publication hereof, raifed upon the native commodities of this island, after the proportions, and in manner and form as is hereafter fet down and appointed; that is to fay, upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and fuccessors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five score.

And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforefaid, That if any goods before-mentioned, on which the faid custom is imposed, and due, by this act, shall at any time hereafter be shipped or put into any boat or other vessel, to the intent to be carried into any parts beyond the feas, the faid imposition due for the same not paid, compounded for, or lawfully tendered to the collectors or their deputies, or not having agreed with the commissioners for that purpose to be appointed, or their deputies for the same, according to the true intent and meaning of the faid act, that then, and from thenceforth, shall the faid goods be forfeit, the moiety thereof to be to our Sovereign Lord the King, and the other to him that thall inform, feize, and fue for the fame in any court of record within this island; which grants are left to your Excellency's own way of levying, in full confidence and affurance that your Excellency will take fuch course for the collecting and gathering of the faid impost, without any charge,

From his answer to that article, I have collected CHAP. (chiefly in his own words) great part of the account

charge, duty or fees, as may be most for the ease of the people of this island.

Provided nevertheless, that neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall extend or be construed to bar his Majesty, or his faid Excellency, from his or their right to any land granted, or any incroachments made upon the fea, fince the year one thousand fix hundred and fifty, or to any lands commonly called or known by the name of The Ten Thousand Acres; the merchants land; granted by the late Earl of Carlifle, or his father, unto Marmaduke Rawden, Esquire, William Perkins, Alexander Bannister, Edmund Forster, Captain Wheatley, and others their affociates, on certain covenants and conditions: Provided also, that the growth and produce of the faid lands, mentioned in the preceding proviso, be not liable to any tax, impost, or custom, imposed by this act; any thing in the same seeming to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, That one act made the feventeenth day of January one thousand fix hundred and fifty, intituled, An act importing the customs imposed and granted by the council, and gentlemen of the affembly, to the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Lieutenant-General of the Province of Carolina, and Governor of Barbadoes; as also, his Lordship's confirmation of the right of the inhabitants of this island to their feveral estates, with the tenure and rent thereon created, be, and is from henceforth repealed, made void, frustrate, of none effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatfoever.

In 1684, the affembly of this island proposed to farm the four and a half per cent. for eleven years, for the annual rent of £.6,000 sterling, to be paid into the exchequer; the governor and council concurred, and it was agreed that £.7,000 currency



HISTORY OF THE

BOOK that I have given; and there cannot be a stronger demonstration of the tendency of power to pervert the judgment, and cloud the faculties of the wifest and worthiest of men, than the justisication he has offered. He even claims great merit in not having advised the king to possess himfelf of the whole island of Barbadoes, without any regard to the planters or creditors concerned in the iffue.

> THE profecution of this great statesman, however, on this account, was of no advantage to the fuffering planters; for in this, as in many other cases, the redress of a grievance, and the punishment of its author, were objects of very diftinct confideration. Those who fought the ruin

> currency per annum should be raised by a tax of twenty-one pence per acre, on all lands amounting to ten or more acres. The towns and traders to be taxed f.500 sterling. An act passed March 19th 1684, for this purpose, and was fent home; but the lords of the committee for trade and plantations reported, that the commissioners of the customs with whom they had advised, were of opinion that they could make no estimate of the duty, until they had experienced the produce thereof, under the then management, for one year at least; and that the commissioners appointed for managing the faid duty in Barbadoes, had affured them the duty would be worth from £.8,000 to £.10,000 per annum. So the act was repealed.

> This proposal to farm the four and a half per cent. duty, was made in consequence of Governor Dutton's fignifying to the council and affembly, on his arrival in 1680, that his Majesty was inclined to commute the tax, for a reasonable

recompence.

of

of Clarendon, had nothing less in view than the CHAP. temoval of oppression, from subjects so remote as those of Barbadoes.

In thus tracing the origin, progress, and termination of the proprietary government in this island, I have purposely chosen not to break the thread of my narration, by recording any intermediate events of a nature foreign to that subject. Soon after the establishment of the Commonwealth in England, circumstances however arose, respecting this colony, which have produced such effects on the general commerce of Great-Britain, as cannot be overlooked in an historical and commercial survey of her West Indian plantations, and of which I shall now give some account.

The reader has been sufficiently apprized of the attachment of the Barbadians towards the regal government. One of the first acts passed by the assembly, after the arrival of the Lord Willoughby for the first time, (1647) was a declaration of their allegiance and fidelity to the unfortunate Charles the First, at that time a prisoner to the army; and on the death of that monarch, the popular resentment against his persecutors ran so high in this issand, that the sew planters who were suspected to be in the interest of the parliament, thought it necessary to seek protection in England.

To punish such stubborn desenders of a ruined Z 3 cause,

BOOK cause, the parliament resolved, in 1651, to send a powerful armament for the reduction of all the English colonies in America and the West Indies; but particularly Barbadoes, at that time the most important and hostile of them all.

> MANY, indeed, were the motives which inftigated the parliament to this determination. From the beginning of the commotions in the mothercountry, the planters, having no other means of conveying the produce of their lands to Europe, had employed in this necessary navigation, many of the ships and seamen of Holland; and at this juncture the English government entertained very hostile intentions towards the subjects of that republick. The reduction of Barbadoes would at once punish the colonists, and enable the English parliament to deprive the Dutch of fo profitable an intercourse with them; it would also enrich the treasury of the new government, by the confiscation of many valuable ships and cargoes in the harbours of that and the other islands. parliament had reason likewise, it was said, to apprehend that Prince Rupert, with a fquadron of the King's ships, was about crossing the Atlantick, to secure all the English American posfessions for Charles the Second.

> - Ayscue, who commanded the parliament's forces employed on this expedition, arrived at Barbadoes on the 16th of October 1651, and fucceeded

Succeeded at length in bringing the island to ca- CHAP. pitulate (1): But this was not effected without great difficulty; for he met with fo flout a refiftance, as determined his employers at home immediately to enforce a scheme they had projected a short time before, of altering the whole system of the Barbadian commerce; by prohibiting by an act of the Commonwealth, all foreign shipping from trading with the English plantations; and not permitting any goods to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms; or in ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth and manufacture, And thus arose the famous navigation act of this kingdom; for, immediately after the restoration, its provisions were adopted by Charles the Second, with this addition, that the mafter and threefourths of the mariners, should also be English subjects.

WHATEVER advantages the general commerce and navigation of England may have derived

(1) Ayfcue agreed, among other things, that the government should confist of a governor, council, and assembly, according to the ancient and usual custom of the island. The assembly to be chosen by a free and voluntary election of the freeholders of the island in the several parishes. That no taxes, customs, imposts, loans, or excise, should be laid, nor levy made on any of the inhabitants of this island, without their consent in a general assembly; and that all laws that had been made by general assemblies, not repugnant to the laws of England, should be good.

from

BOOK from this celebrated law, it must be allowed that its original framers were actuated by no better motives (as a great (m) writer hath observed) than those of punishing the planters, and clipping the wings of the Dutch. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, justly confidering the law as a chaftisement inflicted on them by the Commonwealth for their loyalty to Charles the Second, were filled with amazement and indignation, on finding its provisions adopted and confirmed on the restoration of that monarch. By the regulations of this act, and the establishment of the internal duty on their produce, of which I have so largely fpoken, they thought themselves treated with a rigour which bordered on ingratitude, and they predicted the decline of their population, agriculture and wealth, from the effect of those meafures. How far their predictions have been accomplished, a comparative state of the island at different periods will demonstrate; with which, and a few miscellaneous observations, I shall dismiss my present account.

> BARBADOES is fituated in 13° 10' N. lat. and in longitude 59° W. from London. It is about twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, and contains 106,470 acres of land, most of which is under cultivation. The foil in the low lands is black, fomewhat reddish in the shallow parts; on the hills of a chalky marl, and near the sea generally fandy. Of this variety of soil,

> > (m) Blackstone.

the

the black mould is best fuited for the cultiva- CHAP. tion of the cane, and, with the aid of manure, has given as great returns of fugar, in favourable feafons, as any in the West Indies, the prime lands of St. Kitt's excepted.

THAT the foil of this island is, to a great degree, naturally fertile, we must necessarily admit, if we give credit to the accounts which are transmitted down to us, of its ancient population and opulence. We are affured, that about the year 1670, Barbadoes could boast of fifty thousand white, and upwards of one hundred thousand black inhabitants, whose labours, it is faid, gave employment to fixty thousand tons of shipping (n). I fuspect that this account is much exaggerated. It cannot however be doubted, that the inhabitants of this island have decreased with a rapidity feldom known in any other country. I have now before me authentick returns of the number of its whites in 1724, and of its negroes in 1753: the former confifted of no more than eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five, the latter of fixty-nine thousand eight hundred

(n) The earliest planters of Barbadoes were sometimes reproached with the guilt of forcing or decoying into flavery the Indians of the neighbouring continent. The History of Inkle and Yarico, which the Spectator has recorded for the detestation of mankind, took its rife in this island; but happily this species of flavery has been long since abolished: and perhaps fuch of my readers as have fympathized with the unfortunate Yarico, may not be forry to hear that she bore

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK and seventy. In 1786 the numbers were fixteen thousand one hundred and fixty-seven whites, eight hundred and thirty-eight free people of colour, and fixty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen negroes.

> It appears too that the annual produce of this island (particularly sugar) has decreased in a much greater proportion than in any other of the West Indian colonies. Postlethwayte states the crop of fugar, in 1736, at 22,769 hogsheads of 13 cwt. which is equal to 19,800 of 15 cwt.; and the author of the European Settlements, published in 1761, calculates the average crop at 25,000 hogsheads. As the author first quoted, gives a

> her misfortunes with greater philosophy than they have hitherto fancied. The flory was first related by Ligon, who (after praifing poor Yarico's excellent complexion, which, he fays, was "a bright bay:" and her fmall breafts " with "nipples of porphyrie") observes, that " she chanc't afterwards to be with child by a Christian servant, and being fe very great, walked down to a woode, in which was a pond " of water, and there, by the fide of the pond, brought her-6 felfe a-bed, and in three hours came home with the child "in her arms, a lusty boy, frolicke and lively." The crime of Inkle the merchant, however, admits of no palliation; but it is ridiculous enough to hear Abbé Raynal (willing to improve upon Addison) ascribe to it an intended revolt of all the Negroes in Barbadoes, who, as he afferts, moved by indignation at Inkle's monftrous cruelty, vowed with one accord the destruction of all the Whites; but their plot was discovered the night before it was to have been carried into effect. The Histoire Philosophique has a thousand beauties; but it grieves me to fay, that in point of historical accuracy, it is nearly on a level with the History of Robinson Crusoe or Tom Thumb.

precise

grounded on good authority. If fo, the island has fallen off nearly one-half in the annual growth of its principal staple. On an average of eight years (from 1740 to 1748) the exports were 13,948 hogsheads of sugar, of 15 cwt. 12,884 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons, 60 hogsheads of melasses, 4,667 bags of ginger, 600 bags of cotton, and 327 gourds of aloes. The exports, on an average of 1784, 1785 and 1786, had fallen to 9,554 hogsheads of sugar, 5,448 puncheons of rum, 6,320 bags of ginger, 8,331 bags of cotton; exclusive of some similar articles, as aloes, sweetmeats, &c. of which the quantities are not ascertained.

That the dreadful fuccession of hurricanes, with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this, and the other West Indian islands, within the last twelve years, has contributed to this great defalcation, cannot be doubted. The capital of this island was scarce risen from the ashes to which it had been reduced by two dreadful fires, when it was torn from its foundations, and the whole country made a scene of desolation, by the storm of the 10th of October 1780, in which no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants (blacks and whites) miserably perished; and the damage to the country was computed at £.1,320,564.15s. sterling.

IT

BOOK III.

It might have been prefumed, however, from the favourable feafons which have been experienced for the last three or four years, that the prospect was at length beginning to brighten; but although, fince the failure of their fugar plantations, the inhabitants have found fome resource in the cultivation of cotton, it does not feem probable, that any encouragement is capable of ever restoring this island to its ancient splendor and opulence; unless it be relieved from the heavy imposition of 4½ per cent. on their exported produce, of the origin of which I have fo largely treated. It is to be hoped, that an enlightened minister will one day arise, who will have the courage and virtue to fignify to the fovereign, that it is neither becoming the dignity, nor confiftent with the character of the common father of all his subjects, to infift on a tribute from a part of them, which, though nominally granted by themselves, was affuredly obtained by fraud and oppression, and of which the continuance is a check to honest industry, and perhaps the immediate cause of the decline of this beautiful and once valuable colony.

BARBADOES is divided into five districts, and eleven parishes; and contains four towns, Bridgetown, Oftins or Charles Town, St. James's (formerly called The Hole,) and Speight's Town; Bridge Town, the capital, before it was destroyed by the fires of 1766, confifted of about fifteen

hundred

hundred houses, which were mostly built of CHAP. brick; and it is still the feat of government, and may be called the chief residence of the governor, who is provided with a country villa called Pilgrims, fituated within a mile of it: his falary was raifed by Queen Anne from twelve hundred to two thousand pounds per annum, the whole of which is paid out of the exchequer, and charged to the account of the four and a half per cent. duty. The form of the government of this island fo very nearly refembles that of Jamaica, which has already been described, that it is unnecessary to enter into detail, except to observe that the council is composed of twelve members, and the affembly of twenty-two. The most important variation respects the court of chancery, which in Barbadoes is conftituted of the governor and council, whereas in Jamaica the governor is fole chancellor. On the other hand, in Barbadoes, the governor fits in council, even when the latter are acting in a legislative capacity. This, in Jamaica, would be confidered improper and unconstitutional. It may also be observed, that the courts of grand fessions, common pleas and exchequer, in Barbadoes, are diffinct from each other, and not, as in Jamaica, united and blended in one supreme court of judicature.

I shall close my account of Barbadoes with the following authentick documents:

An

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage and Number wards from the Island of BARBADOES to all Parts of the World, 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, Inspector-General of Great Britain.

	1					
Whither Bound.	SHIP	PING.	SUGAR.	RUM.	MELASSES.	
	Nº. To	ons. Men.	Cwt. grs.lb.	Gallons.	Gallons.	
To Great Britain — Ireland — American States Br. Am. Colonies Foreign W. Indies Africa — Total —	3 54 41 78 78 5,6	317 28 416 379 182 237 694 458 87 7	130,242 - 16 2,114 2,668 2,742 137,766 - 16	28,689 25,200 213,400 146,100 2,000 100	700 11,700 	

PRODUCE of the Island of BARBADOES exported,

A. D.	s t	G A	R,	MEL	ASSES.	R U M.			
11. 2.	Hds. Trce		Barls.	Hds.	Trces.	Hds.	Barls.		
1786 1787 1788 1789 1790 1791	8,659 11,929 10,309 9,021 9,998 11,333 17,073*	\$2 183 63 96 123 60	3,419 2,415 3,674 4,520 2,935 2,346 2,698	\$14 \$7 — — 30 188	37	5,199 3,872 3,386 3,172 2,331 3,008 5,064		693 614 607 397 261 411 512	

From this great Increase in the Export of Sugar, and Decrease in that in Europe, has encouraged the Cultivation of that Article on Plantations which

ACCOUNT of the Number of NEGROES in BARBADOES, and A-1792, both

A. D.	No. of Slaves	Do. imported.	Amount	of Ta	xes.
1786	62,115	511	£.10,138	14	21
1787	62,712 63,557	528	13,528	15	111
1789	63,870	1,585 556	8,38 ₂ 5,534	12	4½ 3
1790	64,068	131	13:482	19	0
1791	63,250	426	6,203	2	I I 4
1792	64,330	744	9,443	19	3

of Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared Outbetween the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY according to the actual Prices in London, as made out by the

GINGER.			C	OT	то	N.	F	U	ST	ŀ	c.		M I S R T I			TOTA	g M	oney		
Cwt. qrs. lb.		lb.	lbs.		Cwt. qrs. lbs.		Value.			,	London Market.									
	5,4	.37	2	18	2	,64			2	40	_	-	5		£. 948	19	1	£. 486,570		
_		24 -	_	_	-	- 6	5,2.	50 -	-	5	-				38	5	10	23,217	-	
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	3,046			515	I	-	974,178		

of the Minor Staples, it feems probable that the advanced Price of that Article had formerly been abandoned or appropriated to a different Line of Culture.

-mount of the Public Taxes for Seven Years, from 1786 to inclusive.

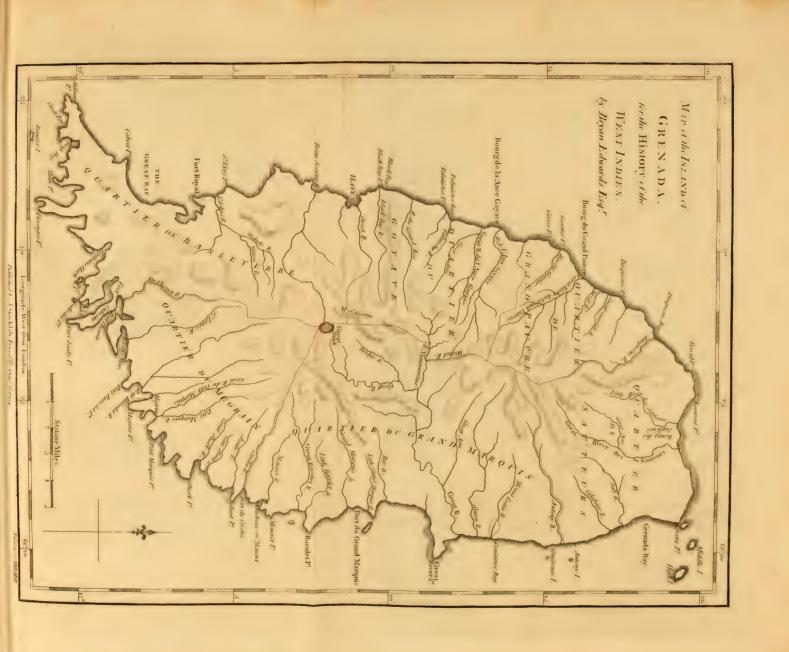
Negroes.—A Tax on Sugar Mills, Dwelling Houses, and Carriages; together with an Excise, &c. on Wines imported. Besides all which there is a Parochial Tax on Land amounting on Average throughout the Island to about Two Shillings per Acre, and an Assessment in Labour for the Repair of the Highways. The Whole is altogether exclusive of the heavy Duty of 4½ per Cent. to the Crown,

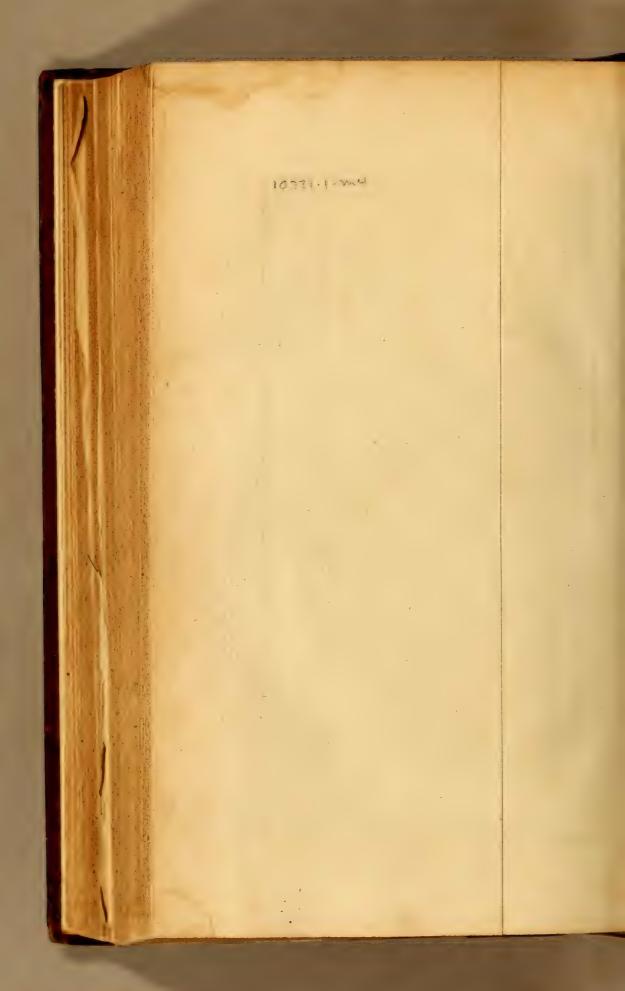
BOOK
III.

CHAP. II.

GRENADA and its Dependencies.

First discovery, name and inhabitants .- French invasion and establishment in 1650.-War with, and extermination of the natives .- The island and its dependencies conveyed to the Count de Cerillac .-Misconduct and punishment of the deputy-governor.—The colony reverts to the crown of France.— State of the island in 1700.—And again in 1762, when captured by the English.—Stipulations in favour of the French inhabitants.-First measures of the British government. - Claim of the crown to levy a duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on produce exported.—Arguments for and objections against the measure.—Decision of the court of King's Bench on this important question.—Strictures on some positions advanced by the lord-chief-justice on this occasion .- Transactions within the colony. -Royal instructions in favour of the Roman Catholick capitulants. - Internal dissentions. - Defenceles state. - French invasion in 1779. - Brave defence of the garrison. - Unconditional surrender. -Hardships exercised towards the English planters and their creditors.—Redress given by the court of France.—Grenada, &c. restored to Great Britain





Britain by the peace of 1783.—Prefent state of CHAP. the colony in respect to cultivation, productions and exports; government and population. Post-script. Appendix.

RENADA was discovered by, and received I its name from, Christopher Columbus in his third voyage, in the year 1498. He found it possessed by a numerous and warlike people. amongst whom it does not appear that the Spaniards ever attempted to force a fettlement. They had a nobler prize to contend for on the continent, and a century elapsed before the other nations of Europe confidered the regions of the new world as countries, wherein all men might feize on what fuited their convenience, without any regard to the proper inhabitants. Thus the Charaibes of Grenada happily remained in peaceful obscurity until the year 1650, when the avarice and ambition of a reftless individual devoted them to destruction.

This person was Du Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, nephew and heir of Defnambuc, of whom memorable mention is made in the annals of St. Christopher. Notwithstanding that the French establishment in Martinico was itself of recent date, and that a great part of that island still remained uncultivated; and although another establishment was, at the same Vol. I. Aa time,

BOOK time, begun by the fame nation, in the large and fertile island of Guadaloupe, yet fuch was the rapaciousness of this people, that upwards of two hundred hardy ruffians were eafily collected by Du Parquet's encouragement for an attempt on Grenada; and it is apparent from the nature and magnitude of the preparations, that it was confidered as an enterprize of difficulty and danger.

> THE history of this expedition, which took place in June 1650, is related at large by Father du Tertre, whose account exhibits such a monftrous mixture of fanaticism and knavery in the conduct of its leaders, as cannot be contemplated without indignation and horror. though it is evident that the French had not the smallest justifiable pretence for this invasion, yet we find the commanders administering the holy facrament, in the most folemn manner, to all the foldiers on their embarkation; and again, on their landing, Du Parquet, causing a cross to be erected, compelled them to kneel down before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty God, for fuccess to their enterprize.

> This commander feems however to have had a few scruples of conscience concerning the justice of his proceedings; for, having been received and entertained with the utmost kindness and cordiality by the natives (contrary to his expectation, and perhaps to his wishes) he thought it necessary

necessary to affect some little regard to modera- CHAP. tion, by pretending to open a treaty with the chief of the Charaibes for the purchase of the country. He gave the natives (observes Du Tertre) some knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief himself; and thus (continues he) was the island fairly ceded to the French nation by the natives themselves in lawful purchase! After this notable transaction, it is not wonderful that the French should consider the refusal of the poor favages to confirm the agreement, as contumacy and rebellion.

Du PARQUET, having thus established a colony in Grenada, and built a fort for its protection, left the government of the island to a kinfman, named Le Compte, a man, according to Du Tertre, who poffeffed very fingular talents for government; and was remarkable for clemency and humanity. We find this gentleman however. eight months afterwards, engaged in a most bloody war with the Charaibes; in the profecution of which he authorized fuch acts of cruelty as furnish a portrait of him very different from that which the historian has exhibited. On receiving news of the revolt of the natives, Du Parquet fent a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte seems not

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BOOK to have wanted any incitement to acts of barbarity; for Du Tertre admits that he had already proceeded to murder, without mercy, every Charaibe that fell into his hands; not sparing even the women and children.

> Or the manner in which this humane and accomplished commander, and his civilized followers, conducted hostilities against these miserable people, we may form an idea, from a circumstance that occurred in one of their expeditions, of which the reverend historian concludes his narrative as follows: " Forty of the Charaibes were massacred on the spot. About forty others, who had escaped the sword, ran towards a precipice, from whence they cast themselves headlong into the sea, and miserably perished. A beautiful young girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of difpute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize; a third coming up, put an end to the contest, by shooting the girl through the head. The place from which these barbarians threw themselves into the sea, has been called ever fince le Morne des Sauteurs (a): Our people (having loft but one man in the expedition) proceeded in the next place to fet fire to the cottages, and root up the provisions of the favages, and, having deftroyed, or taken away,

> > . (a) Leapers Hill.

every

every thing belonging to them, returned in high CHAP. fpirits," (bien joyeux).

By a feries of fuch enormities, the whole race of Charaibes that possessed Grenada in 1650, was speedily exterminated, and the French, having in this manner butchered all the natives, proceeded, in the next place, to massacre each other.

THE particulars of this civil contest may, without injury to my readers, be omitted. I shall therefore only observe, that the supreme authority of Du Parquet and his lieutenant, was at length established in Grenada; but the expence which had attended the plantation from its outset, and the maintenance of the force which Du Parquet had been compelled to surnish in support of his authority, had so greatly injured his fortune, as to induce him to look out for a purchaser of all his rights and possessions in this island and its dependencies. In 1656 such a purchaser offered in the Count de Cerillac, to whom the whole was conveyed for 30,000 crowns.

THE conduct of Cerillac towards the inhabitants of his newly acquired dominion was highly injudicious and oppressive. He appointed a governor of so arrogant and rapacious a disposition, and supported him in his extortions with such obstinacy, as to compel the most respectable of the settlers to quit the country and seek for safety

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воок under a milder government. At length the people that remained took the administration of justice into their own hands; by feizing on the perfon of the governor, and bringing him to a publick trial. The criminal was condemned to be hanged: but he pleaded noble birth, and demanded the honour of decollation. His request would have been granted, but unluckily an expert executioner in the business of beheading could not readily be found; the judges therefore compounded the matter with his excellency, by confenting that he should be shot, and he suffered in that mode with great composure.

Some years after this, Monfieur de Cerillac, the proprietor, receiving, as it may be supposed, but little profit from his capital, conveyed all his rights and interest in Grenada, &c. to the French West Indian company; whose charter being abolished in 1674, the island from thenceforward became vested in the crown of France.

UNDER the various revolutions and calamia ties which had thus attended this unfortunate plantation, it may well be imagined that cultivation had made but little progress in it; but although order and fubmiffion were at length introduced by the establishment of the royal authority, various causes concurred to keep the colony in a ftate of poverty and depression for many years afterwards. Even fo late as 1700, if Raynal

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has been rightly informed, the island contained CHAP. no more than 251 whites and 525 blacks; who were employed on 3 plantations of fugar, and 52 of indigo.

AFTER the peace of Utrecht, the government of France began to turn its attention towards her West Indian possessions. Grenada however, for many years, partook less of its care than the rest. It had no constant correspondence with the mother-country: fome oppressive regulations of the farmers-general ruined the cultivation of one of its staples, tobacco: and the planters had not the means of obtaining a fupply of negroes from Africa, fufficient for the purpose of cultivating fugar to any extent. These inconveniencies led them into a fmuggling intercourse with the Dutch: a refource which at length changed their circumstances for the better; encreased their numbers and occasioned a great part of the country to be fettled, infomuch that when, in the year 1762, the fortune of war made the English masters of this and the rest of the French Charaibean islands, Grenada and the Grenadines are faid to have yielded annually, in clayed and muscovado sugar, a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogsheads of muscovado of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000 lbs, of indigo.

GRENADA surrendered on capitulation in February 1762, and, with its dependencies, was finally Aa4

BOOK finally ceded to Great Britain by the definitive treaty of peace at Paris on the 10th of February 1763; St. Lucea being reftored at the same time to France. The chief stipulations in favour of the inhabitants, as well by the treaty, as by the articles of capitulation, were these; 1st. That, as they would become by their furrender, fubjects of Great Britain, they should enjoy their properties and privileges, and pay taxes, in like manner as the rest of his Majesty's subjects of the other British Leeward Islands. 2dly. With respect to religion, they were put on the same footing as the inhabitants of Canada, viz. liberty was given them to exercise it according to the rites of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permitted. 3dly. Such of the inhabitants of Grenada as chose to quit the island, should have liberty fo to do, and eighteen months should be allowed them to dispose of their effects.

THE island and its dependencies being thus become a British colony, one of the first meafures of government was to iffue a proclamation under the great seal, bearing date the 7th of October 1763, wherein, amongst other things, it is declared "that all persons inhabiting in, or re-" forting to, the island of Grenada, might confide " in the royal protection for the enjoyment of " the benefit of the laws of England, with the " right of appeal to the king in council, as fully

"in America under the king's immediate go"vernment."—It also sets forth, "that the king,
"by letters patent under the great seal, had given
"express power and direction to the governor, as
"foon as the state and circumstances of the co"lony would admit thereof, with the advice and
"consent of the council, and the representatives
"of the people, to make, constitute, and ordain
"laws, statutes, and ordinances for the good go"vernment thereof, as near as may be agreeably
"to the laws of England, and under such regu"lations and restrictions as are used in the other
"British colonies."

This proclamation was followed by another, dated the 26th of March 1764, inviting purchasers upon certain terms and conditions.

THE governor thus faid to have been appointed, was general Melville, whose commission however did not bear date until the 9th of April 1764, and the assembly which he was directed to summon, met for the first time in 1765; previous to which, the British inhabitants were irressiftibly called to the discussion of a great constitutional question; of which it is proper I should now give some account.

THE question arose from the information, that the crown, conceiving itself entitled by the terms

BOOK of the capitulation to the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon all produce exported from the newly ceded islands, as paid at Barbadoes, &c. had issued letters patent, bearing date the 20th July 1764. ordering and directing, by virtue of the prerogative royal, that from and after the 29th of September, then next enfuing, fuch duty or import in specie, should be levied in Grenada; in lieu of all customs and duties formerly paid to the French king.

> WE have feen, in the history of Barbadoes, in what manner the inhabitants of that island became subject to the duty in question; and to what purposes the money was expressly stipulated to be applied; but unjustifiable as were the means by which that imposition was originally established in Barbadoes, the grant was, apparently, the grant of the people themselves, by their representatives in their legislative capacity. Even Charles the IId. in whose reign the grant patfed, though a rapacious and unprincipled monarch, did not openly claim the right of laying taxes by his own authority in a colony which had an affembly of its own, competent to that purpose. The king was ready enough to overawe, or to corrupt the members which composed that affembly; but he left them the form and femblance at least, of a free government.

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In defence of the present measure, it was urged CHAP. that Grenada being a conquered country, the king was invested with the power of putting the inhabitants under what form of government he thought best; that he might have granted them what terms of capitulation, and have concluded what articles of peace with them he faw fit; and further, that the affurance to the inhabitants of Grenada, in the articles of capitulation, that they should enjoy their properties and privileges in like manner as the other his Majesty's subjects in the British Leeward Islands, necessarily implied that they were bound to fubmit to the fame confequences of their being fubjects as were fubmitted to by the inhabitants of those islands; one of which was the payment of the duty in question. It was faid therefore that the demand of this duty was most reasonable, equitable and polititical; for that it was only putting Grenada, as to duties, on the same footing with all the British Leeward Islands. If Grenada paid more, it would be detrimental to her, if less, it would be detrimental to the other Leeward Islands.

On the other fide, it was contended, that the letters patent were void on two points, the first was "that although they had been granted before the proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, yet the king could not exercife fuch a legislative power over a conquered country." The fecond point

III.

BOOK point was, "that although the king had fufficient power and authority, before the 7th of October 1763, to do fuch a legislative act, he had divested himself of such authority previous to the letters patent of the 20th of July 1764."

> THE crown however perfifting in its claim, and the inhabitants in oppofing it, iffue was joined on the arguments that I have flated, and the question was at length referred to a solemn adjudication before the judges of the Court of King's Bench in England (b).

> THE case was elaborately argued in Westminster-hall, four several times; and in Michaelmas term 1774, Lord chief justice Mansfield pronounced judgment, against the crown. The confequence was, that the duty in question was abolished, not only in Grenada, but also in the ceded islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

> IT may be reasonably supposed that the inhabitants of all these islands had sufficient cause for exultation at a verdict fo favourable to their interests; but the circumstances on which the decision was founded, and the doctrines which were promulgated along with it, became the fubject of much animadversion; and indeed (if I may obtrude my own opinion in fuch a case) they

(b) The case is related at large in Cowper's Reports.

appear.

appear to me to be of a dangerous and unconsti- c H A P. tutional tendency.

THE noble and venerable judge who pronounced the opinion of the Court, rested the determination folely on the circumstance, that the proclamations of October 1763, and March 1764, were of prior date to the letters patent; observing, that the king had precluded himself from the exercise of legislative authority over Grenada, before the letters patent were iffued. "Through inattention, he faid, of the king's fervants, in inverting the order in which the instruments should have passed, the last act was contradictory to, and a violation of the first, and on that account null and void." But, although the noble lord confined the mere legal question to a narrow compass, he judged it necessary, at the same time, to enter on a wide and extensive field of difcussion in support of the regal authority over conquered countries; maintaining "that it is left to the king to grant or refuse a capitulation;—if he refuses, and puts the inhabitants to the sword, or otherwise exterminates them, all the lands belong to himfelf. If he receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, he has a power to fix such terms and conditions as he thinks proper. He may (faid the noble judge) yield up the conquest, or retain it, on what terms he pleases, and change part, or the whole, of the law, or political

BOOK III. litical form of its government, as he sees best." In reply to an observation, that no adjudged case, in point, had been adduced, the noble lord declared that this was not to be wondered at, "inafmuch as no question was ever started before but that the king has a right to a legislative authority over a conquered country;" and he quoted an opinion of the crown lawyers in 1722, in respect of Jamaica. The affembly of that island being refractory, it was referred to Sir Philip Yorke and Sir Clement Wearge to know "what could be done if the affembly should obstinately continue to withhold all the usual supplies." They reported, that "if Jamaica was still to be confidered as a conquered island, the king had a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants; but if it was to be considered in the same light as the other colonies, no tax could be imposed on the inhabitants, but by an affembly of the island, or by an act of parliament."

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive, throughout these, and other parts of the learned judge's argument, a certain degree of bias arising from the unhappy differtions which, about that period, broke out into a civil war between Great Britain and her colonies; in the progress of which, it is believed, this noble person distinguished himself as an active partizan, and a powerful advocate for the unconditional supremacy of the mother-

mother-country. I might otherwise be charge- CHAP. able with great arrogance in prefuming to differ from fuch weight of authority; but furely it will be permitted me to examine the doctrine maintained on this occasion, by the test of those cases, which the noble judge himself adduced in its support. In fuch an examination, plain argument and common fense may supply the subtleties of legal refinement, and the want of professional learning.

THE cases chiefly relied on by the learned judge, were those of Ireland, Wales, Berwick and New York; in all which places it was afferted that the king, after their conquest, had, of his own authority, exercifed the powers of legislature, by introducing an alteration of their former laws. and establishing a new system of government over the inhabitants. "No man (observed his lordship, in the case of Ireland) ever said, that the change in the laws of that country was made by the parliament of England: no man ever faid the crown could not do it."

WITH the utmost deference, however, to the fentiments of this great and enlightened lawyer, I prefume to think that the question was not fimply, Whether the crown alone, or the parliament of England, had the right of exercifing the authority contended for?-I will even admit that the interpolition of parliament was unnecessary.

Still

368

III.

BOOK Still however the main question remains to be answered, which is, To what extent may the royal prerogative in such cases be exerted? Did the noble judge mean to affert, that conquest destroys all the rights of the conquered, and that the king, in changing their laws and form of government, has a right to prescribe to them, not merely the English constitution; -but any other fystem he thinks best? If such was the opinion, it may be affirmed that the cases which his lord-Thip adduced in support of his argument, warrant no fuch conclusion.

THE first case was that of Ireland. " The fact, fays the noble lord, comes out clearly to be, that Ireland received the laws of England by the charters and commands of Henry II. King John, and Henry III."

OF Wales, the noble lord observes "that the statute of Wales (12 Edward I.) is certainly no more than regulations, made by the king in his council for the government of Wales, and that the king governed it as a conquest;" but let us hear on this subject the learned judge Blackstone. This territory, observes Blackstone, being then entirely re-annexed (by a kind of feodal refumption) to the dominion of the crown of England, or, as the statute of Rutland expresses it, terra Walliae cum incolis suis, prius regi jure feodali subjecta, (of which homage was the fign) jam in proprietatis

prietatis dominium totaliter et cum integritate conversa CHAP. est, et coronae regni Angliae tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita. But the finishing stroke to their independency, was given by the flatute 27 Henry VIII. c. 26. which at the same time gave the utmost advancement to their civil profperity, by admitting them to a thorough communication of laws with the subjects of England. Thus were this brave people gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty; being infenfibly put upon the same footing, and made fellow citizens with their conquerors."

ANOTHER case was that of Berwick, which, observed the noble lord, "after the conquest of it, was governed by charters from the crown, without the interpolition of Parliament, till the reign of James I." The noble judge would have flated this case more fairly, had he said that Edward I. at the request of the inhabitants, confirmed to them the enjoyment of their ancient laws; but that "its conflitution was put on an English footing, by a charter of king James." These are the very words of Blackstone.

THE case next quoted by the learned judge was that of New York, which was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and, like Wales, remained in possession of most of its former inhabitants. "King Charles II. (observes the noble judge) changed the form of their constitution and poli-VOL. I. tical

370

BOOK

tical government; by granting it to the duke of York, to hold of his crown under all the regulations contained in the letters patent."—So far is true; but what followed? This duke of York (afterwards James II.) was a man whose principles of government were in the highest degree repugnant and inimical to those of the English constitution. Accordingly he attempted at first to introduce into the newly acquired country, a system little consonant to British freedom; but he was disappointed and defeated. He was compelled much against his inclination, to allow the people to choose deputies to represent them in the legislature; and these deputies actually voted "that all the ordinances which had been made by the governor and council, before the people were admitted to a share in the legislature, were invalid, because they were passed in a manner repugnant to the constitution of England."

From this recital, it is I think evident that the noble and learned judge miftook the gift of the question; or rather confounded together two things which are totally distinct and repugnant in their nature; for he appears to have considered the prerogative in the king, of extending to his newly acquired subjects, the benefits of the English constitution, as equivalent to the right of ruling them by whatever constitution or system of government he pleases; or, by none at all.

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IT would feem then that, if the cases which CHAP. have been adduced prove any thing, they prove that the crown neither has prescribed, nor could prescribe, any form of government incompatible with the principles of the British constitution, to any colony or territory whatever, whether acquired by conquest or settlement; -and good authorities are not wanting in support of this doctrine. "The king of Great Britain (fays an excellent writer (c) although at the head of a free state, may, in his own right, hold other states, under a form of government that is not free; as he does, for instance, the states of the electorate of Hanover. He may too even as king of Great Britain, by virtue of his prerogative and as generalissimo of the empire, hold a conquered state (for the time being) under a form of government that is not free; that is, under military law: but, in the inflant that fuch conquered flate is, by treaty of peace, or otherwise, ceded to the crown of Great Britain, in that inflant it imbibes the spirit of the constitution, it is naturalized; it is affimilated to the government, it is governable and to be governed by, and under all those powers with which the governing power of king, lords and commons is invested by the constitution; but it is not governable, neither is to be governed, by any powers which the governing power of king,

(c) Mr. Eftwick.

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lords

BOOK lords and commons does not possess from the constitution: as for example, it cannot be governed on the principles of flavery; because the governing power of king, lords and commons is appointed by the constitution to govern on the principles of liberty." Surely it is a proposition abfurd and monstrous on the very face of it, to fay that a limited monarch in a free state, may govern any part of the dominions of fuch a state in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner. A body of fubjects fo governed, would, if fufficiently numerous, be fit instruments to enslave the rest!

THE intelligent reader will admit the vaft importance of this question, both to the present age and to posterity; and perceive how greatly the dearest interests of men, who, in the contingencies of war, shall hereafter fall under the British dominion, may possibly be concerned in its discussion. To such readers no apology will be necessary, for the detail which I have thought it my duty to give on a subject of such constitutional magnitude. -- I now return to transactions with the colony.

Ir has been stated that the first assembly met in 1765. At that time none of the French Roman catholick inhabitants claimed a right, or even expressed a desire, of becoming members, either of the council or affembly: but in 1768

the governor received instructions from the crown, CHAP. to admit two of them into the council, and to declare others to be eligible into the affembly, on taking the oaths of allegiance and fupremacy. The governor was directed also to include the names of certain persons of this description, in the commission of the peace.

THESE instructions, and the measures which were taken in consequence thereof, gave rise to violent commotions and party divisions in the colony, which, being embittered by religious controversy, continue to divide the inhabitants to the present hour. It were highly unbecoming in me (a stranger to the island) to flatter the pasfions of one party or the other; and I should readily confign all the circumftances to oblivion, but that it is my duty as an historian, to state without prejudice fuch particulars as may, in their consequences, affect the general welfare of the colony, that the errors of one age may ferve as a lesson to the next.

THE opposition that was given by the British inhabitants to the appointment of any of the Roman catholick capitulants to feats in the legislature, arose, I believe, originally from an idea that the royal instructions in this case were in direct violation of the test act of Charles II. which requires "that all perfons enjoying any place of trust or profit shall, in addition to the

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oaths

BOOK oaths of allegiance and supremacy, subscribe a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation in the facrament of the Lord's supper." By the king's inftructions, above cited, his Roman catholick subjects of Grenada were declared eligible without fubscribing to this declaration.

> LIBERAL and enlightened minds at this day are not easily reconciled to the doctrine, that an adherence to mere speculative opinions in matters of faith, ought to drive any loyal subject from the service of his country, or deprive a man (otherwise entitled) of the enjoyment of those honours and distinctions, the distribution of which the wisdom of the laws has affigned to the fovereign. Much less will it be thought that fuch a man is unworthy of that confidence which his neighbours and fellow citizens, who are best acquainted with his principles and virtues, and are themselves of a different persuasion, shall think fit to repose in him. At the fame time, it must be acknowledged, that the recent and then depending claim in the crown, to lay taxes on Grenada by its own authority, gave the inhabitants just cause of apprehension, that the royal instructions in the present case were founded, in like manner, on a pretention to legiflative authority, fubversive of their own colonial affembly.

On the other hand, it was alledged that the CHAP. test act was never meant to extend to the British plantations; that it was confined, both in its letter and spirit, to the kingdom of England and the town of Berwick; and though it were true that it is the practice of the courts of Grenada to adopt both the common and flatute law of England, it was contended nevertheless, that the adoption could extend only to fuch of the English flatutes as were applicable to the peculiar fituation of the colony. It was urged, that the act in question originated in an age of religious frenzy and fanatick violence. The authority of history was adduced to prove that it was particularly promoted by a worthless individual, from animofity to the Duke of York, who was obliged, in consequence of it, to resign the great office of Lord High Admiral. A law thus founded and fupported, instead of being considered as suited to the circumstances of a new and infant colony, ought, it was faid, to be expunged from the

WHAT influence these, or other considerations, had on the British ministry, I presume not to say. It is certain that the king refused to revoke his instructions; in consequence whereof the most zealous of the protestant members of the affembly declining to attend, it was feldom that a house could be formed. Publick affairs soon fell Bb4 into

English statute book.

BOOK into the utmost confusion, and in this state of faction and perplexity, the island continued, until its re-capture by the French in 1779.

> On this occasion, charges were brought against the French inhabitants which I will not repeat, because I have no other evidence to support them than the mutual reproaches, and reciprocal accusations of the parties. The complaints indeed which were loudly made on the part of the French, of an usurpation of their dearest rights by the prevailing faction, seemed to imply that they relied rather on justification than denial.

> THE French ministry however required no other encouragement for attacking this island, than the defenceless state in which all the British fettlements in the West Indies were at that juncture notoriously left. The hopeless and destructive war in North America had drawn to its vortex all the powers, refources, and exertions of Great Britain. Already had Dominica and St. Vincent become a facrifice to that unfortunate contest; when it fell to the lot of Grenada to experience her share of the general misfortune.

> On the 2d of July 1779, a French armament, confisting of a fleet of 25 ships of the line, 10 frigates, and 5000 troops, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, appeared off the harbour and town of St. George: the whole force of the island was composed of 90 men of the

48th

48th regiment, 300 militia of the island, and CHAP. 150 feamen from the merchant ships; and its fortifications confifted chiefly of an entrenchment, which had been haftily thrown up round the fummit of the Hospital-hill. This entrenchment the Count D'Estaing invested the next day, at the head of 3000 of his best forces, which he led up in three columns, and after a hard conflict and the loss of 300 men, carried the lines. Never did fo fmall a body of men make a nobler defence against such inequality of numbers. The governor (Lord Macartney) and the remains of his little garrison, immediately retired into the old fort, at the mouth of the harbour; which however was wholly untenable, being commanded by the Hospital-hill battery, the guns of which having been most unfortunately left unspiked, were now turned against them. At day-break, the French opened a battery of two twenty-four pounders against the walls of the old fort. In this fituation, the governor and inhabitants had no refource but in the hopes of obtaining favourable terms of capitulation; and herein they were difappointed. Their propofals were fcornfully rejected, and fuch hard and extraordinary terms offered and infifted on by Count D'Estaing, as left them no alternative but the facrifice of their honour, or an unconditional furrender. embraced the latter; and it must be acknowledged

BOOK ledged, that the protection which was afforded to the helpless inhabitants of the town, and their property, not only while the treaty was depending, but also after the furrender of the island at discretion, reflected the highest lustre on the discipline, as well as humanity of the conquerors, Protection and fafe-guards were granted on every application, and thus a town was faved from plunder, which by the strict rules of war might have been given up to an exasperated soldiery.

> IT is to be lamented that the subsequent conduct of the French government of Grenada, towards its new subjects, was not quite so generous. By an ordinance of the Count de Durat, the new governor, they were enjoined, under the penalty of military execution and confiscation of property, from the payment, directly or indirectly. of all debts due by them to British subjects, refiding in any part of the British dominions; and by another ordinance, the prohibition was extended to fuch debts owing to the subjects of the united provinces of Holland, as were guaranteed by any of the subjects of Great Britain. Count D'Estaing had inserted clauses to the same effect, in the form of capitulation, which he had tendered to the garrison, and it was those prohibitions that induced the British inhabitants with an honest indignation, to risque the consequence of an unconditional furrender, rather than fub-

mit

mit to them. With the virtue and integrity CHAP, that it is to be hoped will for ever diftinguish the British character, they considered no sacrifice fo great as the violation of that confidence, which had been reposed in them by their friends and creditors in Europe. But the ordinances went By the regulations which they still further. contained, it was enacted that all the eftates belonging to English absentees, should be put into the hands of certain persons to be nominated by the governor, called conservators; and the produce be paid into the publick treafury. Thus was plunder fanctioned by authority; and the absent proprietors were not the only victims, The shameful facility with which every French claimant was put into possession of estates to which the flightest pretension was set up, gave the refident planters reason to apprehend, that the only indulgence they were to expect, was that which Poliphemus promised Ulysses, of being devoured the last,

Most of these injurious proceedings, and various acts of personal oppression, inflicted on the conquered inhabitants of Grenada, were, by them, imputed to the too great influence with the governor of their late fellow fubjects and neighbours, the French planters; and it is much easier to account for, than to justify their conduct. Let it be remembered, however, to the honour of

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380

BOOK the French nation, that these nefarious proceedings were no fooner made known to the court of France, than they were disapproved and reprobated. The appointment of conservators was abolished, and restoration ordered to be made of the effates of absent proprietors. Redress was likewife very generally given, by appeals in the last resort, to such of the resident planters as had been illegally deprived of their possessions. But it was not long before the island itself reverted to the British dominion.

GRENADA and the Grenadines were restored to Great Britain, with all the other captured islands in the West Indies (Tobago excepted) by the general pacification which took place in January 1783; a pacification upon which, whatever may be its general merits, it is impossible but that the English sugar planters (except perhaps those of the ceded island) must reflect with grateful fatisfaction. It might indeed have been wished, by those who have at heart the present repose and future prosperity of mankind, that fome falutary regulations had been framed, at the same time, for preventing the revival of those unhappy national animofities among the white inhabitants of Grenada, of which, I have fo largely fpoken, and which I am forry to be informed, were renewed on the refloration of the island with additional force and aggravated violence.

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not my intention however to enter into any further CHAP. detail on the subject. As a friend to the interests of humanity, independent of religious opinions, and locality of birth, I shall rejoice if means can be found to restore to this little community that peace, confidence and unanimity, without which its inhabitants must be a ruined people, and a prey to the first invader.

HAVING thus, as I conceive, fufficiently treated of the historical and political concerns of this valuable colony, I shall conclude with a short display of its present state (1791), in respect of foil, population, productions and exports; premifing, that many of those little islands which are called the Grenadines, no longer appertain to the government of Grenada. By an arrangement of the British administration, which has taken effect fince the peace, a line of division passes in an east and west direction, between Cariacou and Union Island. The former of these, and fome smaller islands south of it, are all that are now comprized in the Grenada government; Union island, with all the little islands adjoining, to the north, being annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

GRENADA is computed to be about twentyfour miles in length and twelve miles in its greatest breadth, and contains about 80,000 acres of land; of which although no less than 72,141 acres paid

BOOK paid taxes in 1776, and may therefore be supposed fit for cultivation, yet the quantity actually cultivated has never exceeded 50,000 acres. The face of the country is mountainous, but not inaccessible in any part, and it abounds with springs and rivulets. To the north and the east, the foil is a brick mould; the fame or nearly the fame, as that of which mention has been made in the history of Jamaica. On the west side, it is a rich black mould on a fubstratum of yellow clay. To the fouth, the land in general is poor, and of a reddish hue, and the same extends over a confiderable part of the interior country. On the whole, however, Grenada appears to be fertile in a high degree, and by the variety, as well as excellence, of its returns, feems adapted to every tropical production. The exports of the year 1776, from Grenada and its dependencies, were 14,012,157 lbs. of muscovado, and 9,273,607 lbs. of clayed fugar; 818,700 gallons of rum; 1,827,166 lbs. of coffee; 457,719 lbs. of cacao; 91,943lbs. of cotton; 27,638lbs. of indigo, and fome smaller articles; the whole of which, on a moderate computation, could not be worth less, at the ports of shipping, than £.600,000 sterling, excluding freight, duties, infurance and other charges. It deserves to be remembered too, that the fugar was the produce of 106 plantations only, and that they were worked by 18,293 × negroes,

negroes, which was therefore rather more than one CHAP. hogshead of muscovado sugar, of 16 cwt. from the labour of each negro, old and young, emploved in the cultivation of that commodity; a prodigious return, equalled, I believe, by no other British island in the West Indies, St. Christopher's excepted.—The exports of 1787 will be given hereafter: they will be found, except in one or two articles, to fall greatly short of those of 1776; a circumstance for which I know not wholly how to account (d).

This island is divided into fix parishes, St. George, St. David, St Andrew, St. Patrick, St.

Mark

(d) This circumstance is the more surprizing as the fugar plantations in Grenada, for fome years previous to the hurricane in 1780, fuffered greatly by the ravages of the fugar, or carnivorous, ant. Of this wonderful infect a curious account was transmitted to the Royal Society of London, an abridgment of which the reader will find in an appendix to this chapter. I conceive however (notwithstanding what is afferted to the contrary in that account) that this species of ant, is common to all the islands in the West Indies, and has been known in them, in a greater or less degree, from the earliest times. It is the formica omnivora of Linnæus, and is well described by Sloane as the formica fusca minima, antennis longissimis (vide note in p. 168 of this vol.) Its trivial name in Jamaica, is the Raffles ant, from one Thomas Raffles, who is charged with having imported them from the Havanna about the year 1762. They do no injury to the fugar canes in Jamaica; probably because their numbers are few. From what causes they encreased so prodigiously in Grenada, no fatisfactory account has I believe been given.

BOOK Mark and St. John; and its chief dependency, Cariacou, forms a feventh parish. It is only since the restoration of Grenada to Great Britain by the peace of 1783, that an island law has been obtained for the establishment of a protestant clergy. This act passed in 1784, and provides stipends of . £.330 currency, and £.60 for house-rent per annum, for five clergymen, viz. one for the town and parish of St. George, three for the other five out-parishes of Grenada, and one for Cariacou. Befides these stipends, there are valuable glebe lands, which had been appropriated to the support of the Roman catholick clergy, whilft that was the established religion of Grenada. These lands, according to an opinion of the attorney and folicitor-general of England (to whom a question on this point was referred by the crown) became vested in his majesty as publick lands, on the restoration of the island to the British government, and I believe have fince been applied by the colonial legislature, with the confent of the crown, to the further support of the protestant church, with fome allowance thereout (to what amount I am not informed) for the benefit of the tolerated Romish clergy of the remaining French inhabitants.

> THE capital of Grenada, by an ordinance of governor Melville, foon after the ceffion of the country to Great Britain by the peace of Paris, is called

CHAP.

called St. George. By this ordinance, English names were given to the several towns and parishes, and their French names forbidden to be thereafter used in any publick acts. The French name of the capital was Fort Royal. It is situated in a spacious bay, on the west or lee-side of the island, not far from the south end, and possesses one of the safest and most commodious harbours for shipping in the English West Indies, which has been lately fortified at a very great

THE other towns in Grenada, are, properly speaking, inconsiderable villages or hamlets, which are generally situated at the bays or shipping places in the several out-parishes. The parish town of Cariacou is called Hillsborough.

GRENADA has two ports of entry, with separate establishments, and distinct revenue officers, independent of each other, viz. one at St. George, the capital, and one at Grenville-bay,

(c) The town of Saint George is built chiefly of brick, and makes a handfome appearance. It is divided by a ridge, which running into the fea forms on one fide the carenage, on the other the bay: thus there is the Bay-town, which boafts a handfome fquare and market-place, and the Carenage-town, wherein the principal merchants refide, the ships lying land-locked, and in deep water close to the wharfs. On the ridge between the two towns stands the church, and on the promontory above it is a large old fort, which was probably constructed by the first French inhabitants. It is built of stone, and is large enough to accommodate an entire regiment.

VOL. I.

expence (c).

Cc

a town

BOOK a town and harbour on the east or windward side of the island. The former, by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. is made a free port.

WHETHER it be owing to the events of war, to domestick diffentions, or to calamities inflicted by the hand of Divine Providence, I know not, but it appears that the white population of Grenada and the Grenadines has decreafed confiderably fince these islands first came into possession of the English. The number of white inhabitants, in the year 1771, was known to be fomewhat more than fixteen hundred; in 1777 they had decreased to thirteen hundred; and at this time they are supposed not to exceed one thousand two hundred, of which about twothirds are men able to bear arms, and incorporated into five regiments of militia, including a company of free blacks or mulattoes, attached to each. There are likewise about 500 regular troops from Great Britain, which are supported on the British establishment (d).

THE negro flaves have also decreased. By the last returns preceding the capture of the island

⁽d) Besides the regular troops which are sent from Great Britain for the protection of Grenada, there are in its garrison three companies of king's negroes, which came from America, where they served in three capacities, as pioneers, artificers, and light dragoons. In Grenada they form a company of each, and are commanded by a lieutenant of the regulars, having captain's rank.

in 1779, they were stated at 35,000, of which CHAP. 5,000 were in Cariacou, and the smaller islands. In 1785 they amounted to no more than 23,926 in the whole. The decrease was owing partly to the want of any regular fupply during the French government, and partly to the numbers carried from the island by the French inhabitants, both before and after the peace. It is also to be observed, that of the African cargoes fold at Grenada, some part (perhaps a fourth or fifth) are exported to the neighbouring French and Spanish colonies.

THE free people of colour amounted in 1787. to 1,115. To prevent the too great increase of this mixed race, every manumiffion is, by an act of this island, charged with a fine of one hundred pounds currency, payable into the publick treasury. But this law has neither operated as a productive fund, nor as a prohibition; for it is usually evaded by executing and recording acts of manumission in some other island or government where there is no fuch law. The evidence of all coloured people, of free condition, is received in the courts of this island, on their producing fufficient proof of their freedom; and fuch free people are tried on criminal charges in the fame manner as the whites. They are also allowed to poffess and enjoy lands and tenements

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to

III.

BOOK to any amount, provided they are native-born subjects or capitulants, and not aliens.

> THE governor, by virtue of his office, is chancellor, ordinary and vice-admiral, and prefides folely in the courts of chancery and ordinary, as in Jamaica. His falary is f. 3,200 currency per annum (e), which is raised by a poll-tax on all flaves; and it is the practice in Grenada to pass a falary bill on the arrival of every new governor, to continue during his government. In all cases of absence beyond twelve months, the salary ceases and determines.

> THE council of Grenada confifts of twelve members, and the affembly of twenty-fix. powers, privileges and functions of both these branches of the legislature, are the same, and exercifed precifely in the fame manner, as those of the council and affembly in Jamaica. A freehold, or life estate, of fifty acres, is a qualification for a representative for a parish, and a freehold, or life estate, in fifty pounds house-rent in St. George, qualifies a representative for the town. An estate of ten acres in fee, or for life, or a rent of ten pounds in any of the out-towns, gives a vote for the representatives of each parish respectively; and a rent of twenty pounds per annum,

iffuing

⁽e) The currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is commonly 65 per cent, worse than sterling.

iffuing out of any freehold or life estate in the CHAP. town of St. George, gives a vote for a representative for the town.

THE law courts in Grenada, besides those of chancery and ordinary, are, first, the court of grand fessions of the peace held twice a year, viz. in March and September. In this court the first person named in the commission of the peace prefides, who is usually the prefident or fenior in council.

2dly, THE court of common pleas. The court confifts of one chief and four affiftant justices, whose commissions are during pleasure. The chief justice is usually appointed in England, a professional man, and receives a falary of f. 600 per annum. The four affiftant justices are usually appointed by the governor from among the gentlemen of the island, and act without salary.

adly, The court of exchequer. The barons in this court are commissioned in like manner as in the court of common pleas. But this court is lately grown into difuse.

4thly, THE court of admiralty, for trial of all prize causes of capture from enemies in war, and of revenue feizures in peace or war. There is one judge of admiralty and one furrogate.

LASTLY, The governor and council compose a court of error, as in Jamaica, for trying all appeals of error from the court of common pleas.

Cc3

ALTHOUGH

BOOK III. ALTHOUGH there is no law of Grenada declaring an adoption of the laws of England, yet it has been always the practice of the courts, to confider both the common and statute law of England to extend to Grenada in all applicable cases, not otherwise provided for by particular laws of the island. So in like manner the practice of the courts in Westminster-Hall, and authentick reports of adjudged cases there, are resorted to, when precedents and authorities are wanting in the island. In the case of its stave laws, it may be said with truth and justice, that the assembly of this island have shewn a liberality of sentiment which reslects the highest honour on their characters, both as legislators and christians.

I HAVE now furnished the reader with all the information I have collected, concerning the past history and present state of the island of Grenada,* and if it shall be thought desicient or uninstructive, the fault is not in the want of materials, but in the workman. Something however remains to be observed concerning such of the Grenadines as are dependent on the Grenada government, the chief of which are Cariacou and Isle Ronde. The former contains 6,913 acres of land, and in general it is fertile and well culti-

vated;

^{*} This was written in 1791: fince that time Grenada has fuftained a melancholy reverse of fortune, some particulars of which will be related in a subsequent volume.

vated; producing in seasonable years a million of pounds of cotton for exportation, besides corn, yams, potatoes, and plantains sufficient for the maintenance of its negroes. The cultivation of sugar has been found less successful in this island than cotton, though it still continues to be made on two plantations. Isle Ronde contains about 500 acres of excellent land, which are wholly applied to pasturage, and the cultivation of cotton. It is situated about midway between Cariacou and the north end of Grenada, about four leagues from each.

I SHALL close my account of this colony, as of Barbadoes, with an authentick return by the Infpector General of Great Britain, of the exports from Grenada and its dependencies, for the year 1787; containing also an estimate of the actual value of the several articles at the British market:

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An ACCOUNT of the Number of Veffels, their Tonnage, and Men (including repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Grenada, &c. to all Pathe World, between the 5th January 1787 and the 5th January 1788, with the Spe Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. the Inspector General of Great Britain.

Whither bound.	SHIPPING.			SUGAR.	RUM.	ME- LASSES.	COFFEE.
	No.	Tons.	Men.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Cwt. qrs. lbs
To Great Britain	65	13,276	969	172,880 - 9	102,590	_	8,550 2 4
Ireland — —	7	771	59			į.	
American States	47	6,373	410		1		44
British Ameri- } can Colonies	30	2,610	194				218
Foreign West Indies }	39	2,734	192	<u> </u>	-	_	
	188	25,764	1,824	175,548 - 9	670,390	4,300	8,812 2 4

To Iro	Whither bound.	CACAO.	COTTON.	IN- DIGO.	Value of Mifcellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c.	Total Value according to to current Prices London.
		Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Ibs.	£. s. d.	£. s.
	To Great Britain	2,645 1 2	2,030,177	1,560	64,439 — 3	555,222 11
	Ireland	19 2 16	32,250	1,250	24 10 -	13,580 4
	American States	36 — —	-	-	27 4—	24,597 4
	British Ameri- can Colonies	16 — —			15 6—	21,469 9
	Foreign West Indies }	-		-	39 — —	39 —
		2,716 3 18	2,062,427	2,810	64,545 — 3	614,908 9

POSTSCRIPT to the HISTORY of GRENADA.

The first edition of this work having fallen into the hands of a gentleman of diftinguished abilities and learning (one of his Majesty's Serjeants at Law) he was pleased, at the author's request, to communicate his thoughts in writing on the doctrine maintained by Lord Mansfield, concerning the legal authority of the crown over conquered countries, as stated in page 365 of this volume, which I have great pleafure in prefenting to the reader in the precise words in which they were given:

THE ground upon which the court refted Pofficeipt. their judgment in the case of Grenada, was clearly CHAP. fufficient to warrant that judgment, even admitting the doctrine laid down by Lord Mansfield on the other point to be well founded; but nothing can be more unfounded than that doctrine: -every proposition upon which it is made to rest is a fallacy. I deny that the king (at least fince the constitution has had its present form) can "arbitrarily grant or refuse a capitulation." The power of

394

Postscript. of granting or refusing a capitulation, in the case BOOK of a fiege or invafion, is certainly vested in him; , but it is vested in him like every other power with which he is entrusted by the British constitution, to be exercised according to the usage which has prevailed in like cases. If that power should be abused, his officers and ministers must answer to the publick for their misconduct.

> For the same reason I deny that " the king can put the inhabitants of a conquered country to the fword, or otherwise exterminate them," unless fuch severity be fully justified by the laws of war, as they are understood amongst civilized nations.

> But, supposing that a case should happen wherein fuch feverity would be justifiable, I deny that, upon the extermination of the enemy, the lands would belong to the king himself: I say they would belong to the state; and that they would be subject, not merely to the king, but to the fovereign power which governs the British dominions. If the king receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, I deny that he has power to fix fuch terms and conditions as he thinks proper; for he cannot referve to himself, in his individual capacity, legislative power over them: that would be to exclude the authority of the British legislature from the government of a country fubdued by British

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British forces, and would be an attempt to creck imperium in imperio. One consequence of this would be, that such conquered territory might descend to an heir of the king not qualified according to the act of settlement, to succeed to the crown of Great Britain. The king might give it to a younger son, or bestow it on a stranger. A thousand other absurd consequences might be pointed out, as resulting from such incongruity.

I ADMIT that the king (fubject to the responfibility of his ministers) may yield up a conquest, or retain it, as he sees best: but I deny, for the reasons above hinted at, that he can impose what terms he pleases, or that he can arbitrarily change the law or political form of its government. I think he may agree, upon the capitulation, that the conquered people shall continue to enjoy their ancient religion and laws, and even this must be sub modo; but I deny that he could, by his own authority, grant these things after the capitulation; for that would amount to an exercise of independant sovereignty. The fallacy of Lord Mansfield's argument, proceeds from an endeavour to confound the king's civil and military characters, and to perpetuate in the chief executive magistrate, the vast powers with which it is necessary to invest the generalissimo of the armies, during the continuance of military operations. The moment these operations cease, he refumes

Postscript. resumes his civil character, and in that character BOOK no man will venture to affert that, as king of , Great Britain, he has the prerogative of being a despot in any part of his dominions.

WITH respect to the cases of Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, even taking them precifely as Lord Mansfield puts them, I think they do not weigh a feather in the argument. Those cases happened long before the English constitution had reduced itself to its present form, consequently, before the rights of the people were afcertained and defined as they exist at present. If a few instances of the exercife of arbitrary power by the ancient kings of England, are to be received as decifive cases, to shew what are the powers of the crown at this day. I think it would be no very difficult task to find authorities, even as low down as the reigns of the Plantagenets and Stuarts, to prove that the British government ought to be a pure defpotifm!

APPENDIX

T O

CHAP. II. OF BOOK II.

CONTAINING

Observations on the Sugar Ants in the Island of Grenada; extracted from a Letter of John Castles, Esq. to General Melville: read before the Royal Society in May 1790.

The Sugar Ants, so called from their ruinous effects on sugar cane, are supposed to have first made their appearance in Grenada about the year 1770, on a sugar plantation at Petit Havre; a bay sive or six miles from the town of St. George, the capital, conveniently situated for smuggling from Martinico: it was therefore concluded, they were brought from thence in some vessel employed in that trade, which is very probable, as colonies of them in like manner were afterwards propagated in different parts of the island by droghers, or vessels employed in carrying stores, &c. from one part of the island to another.

From thence they continued to extend themselves on all sides for several years; destroying in succession every sugar plantation between St. George's and St. John's, a space of about twelve miles. At the same time, colonies of them began to be observed in different parts of the island, particularly at Duquesne on the north, and Calavini on the south side of it.

ALL attempts of the planters to put a stop to the ravages

CHAP.

398

APPEN- ravages of these insects having been found ineffectual, it well became the legislature to offer great publick rewards to any person who should discover a practicable method of destroying them, so as to permit the cultivation of the fugar cane as formerly. Accordingly, an act of affembly was passed, by which such discoverer was entitled to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid from the publick treasury of the island.

> MANY were the candidates on this occasion, but very far were any of them from having any just claim: neverthelefs, confiderable fums of money were granted, in confideration of trouble and expences in making experiments, &c.

> In Grenada there had always been feveral species of ants, differing in fize, colour, &c. which however were perfeetly innocent with respect to the sugar-cane. The ants in question, on the contrary, were not only highly injurious to it, but to feveral forts of trees, fuch as the lime, lemon, orange, &c.

> THESE ants are of the middle fize, of a flender make, of a dark red colour, and remarkable for the quickness of their motions; but their greatest peculiarities are, their tafte when applied to the tongue, the immenfity of their number, and their choice of places for their nefts.

> ALL the other species of ants in Grenada have a bitter musky taste. These, on the contrary, are acid in the highest degree, and when a number of them were rubbed together between the palms of the hands, they emitted a ftrong vitriolick fulphureous fmell; fo much fo, that, when this experiment was made, a gentleman conceived that it might be owing to this quality that these insects were so unfriendly to vegetation. This criterion to diffinguish them was infallible, and known to every one.

> > THEIR

THEIR numbers were incredible. I have feen the CHAP. roads coloured by them for miles together; and fo crowded were they in many places, that the print of the horses feet would appear for a moment or two, until filled up by the furrounding multitude. This is no exaggeration. All the other species of ants, although numerous, were circumscribed and confined to a small spot, in proportion to the space occupied by the cane ants, as a mole hill to a mountain.

THE common black ants of that country had their nefts about the foundation of houses or old walls; others in hollow trees; and a large species in the pastures, descending by a fmall aperture under ground. The fugar ants, I believe, univerfally conftructed their nests among the roots of particular plants and trees, such as the sugar-cane, lime, lemon, and orange trees, &c.

THE destruction of these ants was attempted chiefly two ways; by poifon, and the application of fire.

For the first purpose, arsenick and corrosive sublimate mixed with animal fubstances, such as falt fish, herrings, crabs, and other shell fish, &c. were used, which was greedily devoured by them. Myriads of them were thus destroyed; and the more so, as it was observed by a magnifying glass, and indeed (though not so distinctly) by the naked eye, that corrofive fublimate had the effect of rendering them so outrageous that they destroyed each other; and that effect was produced even by coming into contact with it. But it is clear, and it was found, that these poisons could not be laid in sufficient quantities over so large a tract of land as to give the hundred thousandth part of them a tafte.

THE use of fire afforded a greater probability of fuccess; for (from whatever cause) it was observed, that if wood,

400

DIX.

APPEN- wood, burnt to the flate of charcoal, without flame, and immediately taken from the fire, was laid in their way, they crowded to it in fuch amazing numbers as foon to extinguish it, although with the destruction of thousands of them in effecting it. This part of their history appears scarcely credible; but, on making the experiment myself, I found it literally true. I laid fire, as above described, where there appeared but very few ants, and in the course of a few minutes thousands were seen crowding to it and upon it, till it was perfectly covered by their dead bodies. Holes were therefore dug at proper diftances in a cane piece, and fire made in each hole. Prodigious quantities perished in this way; for those fires, when extinguished, appeared in the shape of mole hills, from the numbers of their dead bodies heaped on them. Nevertheless the ants soon appeared again, as numerous as ever. This may be accounted for, not only from their amazing fecundity, but that probably none of the breeding ants or young brood fuffered from the experiment.

For the fame reason, the momentary general applicataion of fire by burning the cane trash (or straw of the cane) as it lay on the ground, proved as little effectual; for although, perhaps, multitudes of ants might have been destroyed, yet in general they would escape by retiring to their nests under cover, out of its reach, and the breeding ants, with their young progeny, must have remained unhurt.

This calamity, which refisted so long the efforts of the planters, was at length removed by another; which, however ruinous to the other islands in the West Indies, and in other respects, was to Grenada a very great blesfing; namely, the hurricane in 1780; without which it

is probable, the cultivation of the fugar-cane in the most valuable parts of that island must have in a great measure been thrown aside, at least for some years. How this hurricane produced this effect, has been considered rather as a matter of wonder and surprize than attempted to be explained. By attending to the following observations, the difficulty, I believe, will be removed.

THESE ants make their nefts, or cells for the reception of their eggs, only under or among the roots of fuch trees or plants as are not only capable of protecting them from heavy rains, but are at the same time so firm in the ground as to afford a fecure basis to support them against any injury occasioned by the agitation of the usual winds. This double qualification the fugar-cane possessin a very great degree; for a ftool of canes (which is the affemblage of its numerous roots where the stems begin to shoot out) is almost impenetrable to rain, and is also, from the amazing numbers and extension of the roots, firmly fixed to the ground. Thus, when every other part of the field is drenched with rain, the ground under those stools will be found quite dry, as I and every other planter must have observed when digging out the stools in a cane piece, to prepare for replanting. And when canes are lodged or laid down by the usual winds, or fall down by their own luxuriancy, the stools commonly remain in the ground; hence, in ordinary weather, the nests of these ants are in a state of perfect security.

THE lime, lemon, orange, and some other trees, afford these infects the same advantages from the great number and quality of their roots, which are firmly fixed to the earth, and are very large; besides which, their tops are so very thick and umbrageous as to prevent even a very heavy rain from reaching the ground underneath.

Vol. I.

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HISTORY OF THE

APPEN-DIX. On the contrary, these ants' nests are never sound at the roots of trees or plants incapable of affording the above protection; such for instance as the coffee tree: it is indeed sufficiently firm in the ground, but it has only one large tap root, which goes straight downwards; and its lateral roots are so small as to afford no shelter against rain. So again, the roots of the cotton shrub run too near the surface of the earth to prevent the access of rain, and are neither sufficiently permanent, nor firm enough to resist the agitation by the usual winds. The same observation will be found true with respect to cacao, plantains, maize, tobacco, indigo, and many other species of trees and plants.

TREES or plants of the first description always suffer more or less in lands insested with these ants; whereas those of the latter never do. Hence we may fairly conclude, that the mischief done by these insects is occasioned only by their lodging and making their nests about the roots of particular trees or plants. Thus the roots of the sugar-canes are somehow or other so much injured by them, as to be incapable of performing their office of supplying due nourishment to the plants, which, therefore, become sickly and stinted, and consequently do not afford juices sit for making sugar in either tolerable quantity or quality.

THAT these ants do not feed on any part of the canes or trees affected seems very clear, for no loss of substance in either the one or the other has ever been observed; nor have they ever been seen carrying off vegetable substances of any fort.

On the contrary, there is the greatest presumption that these ants are carnivorous, and feed entirely on animal substances; for if a dead insect, or animal food of any sort,

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was laid in their way, it was immediately carried off. It CHAP. was found almost impossible to preserve cold victuals from them. The largest carcasses, as soon as they began to become putrid, so as that they could separate the parts, soon disappeared. Negroes with sores had difficulty to keep the ants from the edges of them. They destroyed all other vermin, rats in particular, of which they cleared every plantation they came upon, which they probably effected by attacking their young. It was found that poultry, or other small stock, could be raised with the greatest difficulty; and the eyes, nose, and other emunctories of the bodies of dying or dead animals were instantly covered with these ants.

From what has been faid it appears, that a dry fituation, fo as to exclude the ordinary rains from their nefts or cells, appropriated for the reception of their eggs or young brood, is abfolutely necessary; but that these fituations, however well calculated for the usual weather, could not afford this protection from rain during the hurricane, may be easily conceived.

When by the violence of the tempest heavy pieces of artillery were removed from their places, and houses and sugar works levelled with the ground, there can be no doubt that trees, and every thing growing above ground, must have greatly suffered. This was the case. Great numbers of trees and plants (which commonly resist the ordinary winds) were torn out by the root. The canes were universally either lodged or twisted about as if by a whirlwind, or torn out of the ground altogether. In the latter case, the breeding ants, with their progeny, must have been exposed to inevitable destruction from the deluge of rain which fell at the same time. The number

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APPEN- of canes, however, thus torn out of the ground, could not have been adequate to the fudden diminution of the fugar ants; but it is easy to conceive that the roots of canes, which remained on the ground, and the earth about them, were fo agitated and shaken, and at the same time the ants' nests were so broken open or injured by the violence of the wind, as to admit the torrents of rain accompanying it. I apprehend, therefore, that the principal destruction of these ants must have been thus effected.

> IT must not however be denied, that though nature for a time may permit a particular species of animal to become fo disproportionably numerous as to endanger fome other parts of her works, she herself will in due time put a check upon the too great increase; and that is often done by an increase of some other animal inimical to the former destroyers. In the present case, however, nothing of that fort appeared; therefore, when a plain natural cause, obvious to our senses, occurred, by which we can account for the amazing and fudden decrease of those ruinous infects, it is unnecessary to recur to other possible causes too minute for our investigation.

> ALL I have faid on this subject would certainly be of little or no consequence, did it not lead to the true method of cultivating the fugar-cane on lands infefted with those destructive insects; in which point of view, however, it becomes important.

> IF then the above doctrine be just, it follows that the whole of our attention must be turned to the destruction of the nests of these ants, and consequently the breeding ants with their eggs or young brood.

> In order to effect this, all trees and fences, under the roots of which these ants commonly take their residence,

fhould

should first be grubbed out; particularly lime or semon CHAP. fences, which are very common in Grenada, and which generally fuffered from the ants before the canes appeared in the least injured; after which the canes should be flumped out with care, and the stools burnt as foon as possible, together with the field trash (or the dried leaves and tops of the canes) in order to prevent the ants from making their escape to new quarters. The best way of doing this, I apprehend, will be to gather the field trash together in confiderable heaps, and to throw the stools as foon as dug out of the ground into them, and immediately apply fire. By this means multitudes must be deftroyed; for the field trash, when dry, burns with great rapidity. The land should then be ploughed or hoe-ploughed twice (but at least once) in the wettest season of the year, in order to admit the rains, before it is hoed for planting the cane; by these means these infects, I apprehend, will be so much reduced in number as at least to fecure a good plant cane.

But it is the custom in most of the West India islands to permit the canes to ratoon; that is, after the canes have once been cut down for the purpose of making fugar, they are fuffered to grow up again without replanting; and this generally for three or four years, but sometimes for ten, fifteen, or twenty. In this mode of culture the stools become larger every year, so as to grow out of the ground to a confiderable height, and by that means afford more and more shelter to the ants' nests; therefore for two or three successive crops the canes should be replanted yearly, so as not only to afford as little cover as possible for the ants' nests, but continually to disturb such ants as may have escaped, in the business of propagating their species.

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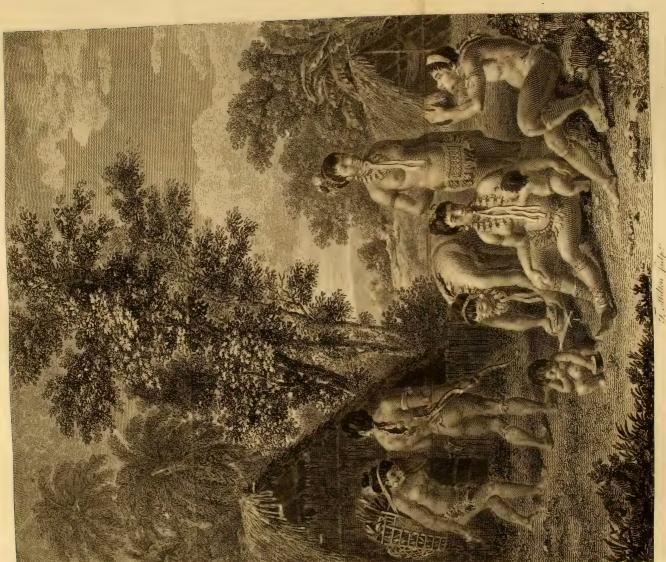
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HISTORY OF THE

APPEN-DIX.

THAT confiderable expence and labour will attend putting this method into execution there is no doubt, An expensive cure, however, is better than none; but from the general principles of agriculture, I am of opinion that the planter will be amply repaid for his trouble by the goodness of his crops, in consequence of the superior tilth the land will receive in the proposed method.





A FAMILY of CHARAIBES, drawn from the Life, in the ISLAND of STVINCENT.

Them not braginal Thinning by Agestine Branges, in the population of the William I bearing Burn . It 16.3

CHAP. III.

ST. VINCENT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

AND

DOMINICA.

THE civil history of these islands may be com- CHAP. prised in a narrow compass; for the sovereignty of them having been long an object of dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and France, the rightful possessors, the Charaibes, derived that fecurity from the reciprocal envy and avarice of the contending parties, which they might have expected in vain from their justice and humanity. As both St. Vincent and Dominica were included, with many other islands, in the Earl of Carlisse's patent, it is not wonderful that attempts were made, at different times, to bring them under the English dominion. These attempts the French constantly opposed, with design, it was urged, fecretly and furreptitiously to occupy the Islands Dd4

BOOK Islands themselves; and their conduct towards the Charaibes on other occasions seems to justify the fuggestion.

> But, whatever might have been their motives, they exerted themselves with such effect, that the English were compelled to relinquish all hopes of obtaining these islands by force; for by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1748) St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Tobago, were declared neutral, and the ancient proprietors (fuch as remained of them) were at length left in unmolested possession.

> THE disputes and hostilities which these attempts of the English on the one hand, and refistance of the French on the other, gave rise to in this part of the world, are no longer interesting, and therefore need not be brought again to remembrance. The depravity and injustice of mankind are at all times subjects of unpleasing speculation; but the subsequent conduct of both nations, respecting the Islands which they had declared neutral, is too remarkable to be overlooked, even if historical precision did not, as in the present case it does, require me to relate the circumstances attending it.

> THE treaty of neutrality was no fooner concluded, than both English and French appeared diffatisfied with the arrangement which they had made. The latter feem not to have confidered

> > until

until it was too late, that by restricting the Eng- CHAP. lish from the occupancy of those countries, on the ground of right in a third party, they precluded themselves at the same time. The English, on the other hand, discovered that, by acceding to the compromise, they had given up St. Lucia, an Island worth all the rest, and to which it must be owned we had fome colourable pretenfions, founded on a treaty entered into with the Charaibean inhabitants in 1664, fix hundred of whom attended an armament that was fent thither by Lord Willoughby, and actually put the English publickly and formally into possession.

BOTH nations being thus alike diffatisfied with an arrangement which left nothing to either, it may be supposed, that on the conclusion of the war which broke out a few years afterwards, a very different stipulation took place. The French no longer pleaded scruples on behalf of the Charaibes, but very cordially concurred with the English in dividing the spoil. By the 9th article of the peace of Paris, figned the 10th of February 1763, the three islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were affigned to Great Britain; and St. Lucia to France, in full and perpetual fovereignty; the Charaibes not being once mentioned in the whole transaction, as if no such people existed.

THEY were in truth reduced to a miserable remnant,-

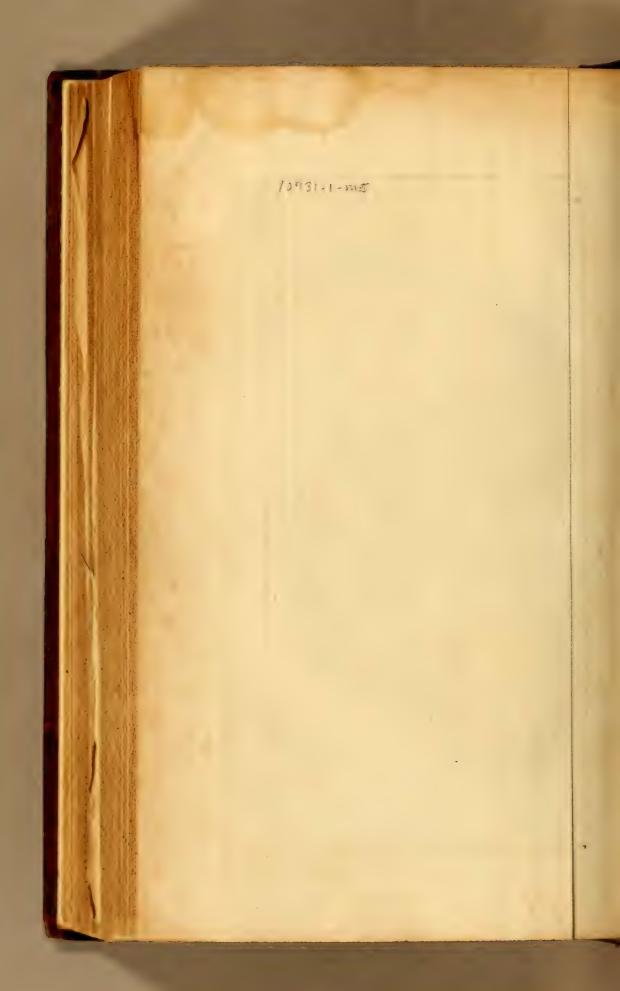
410

BOOK remnant. Of the ancient, or, as they were called by the English, Red Charaibes, not more than a hundred families furvived in 1763, and of all their ancient and extensive possessions, these poor people retained only a mountainous district in the Island of St. Vincent. Of this Island and its dependencies I shall now treat, referving Dominica for a separate section.

SECTION I.

ST. VINCENT.

"THE Spaniards (fays Doctor Campbell) " bestowed the name of St. Vincent upon this " Island, because they discovered it upon the " 22d of January, which in their calendar is St. " Vincent's day, but it does not appear that they " were ever, properly speaking, in possession of " it; the Indians being very numerous here, on " account of its being the rendezvous of their " expeditions to the continent." Unfortunately, however, neither their numbers, nor the natural strength of the country, exempted them from hostility. What avarice had in vain attempted, accident



accident accomplished, by procuring an establish- char. ment among them for a race of people, whom, though at first beheld by the native Charaibes with contempt or pity, they have fince found formidable rivals and merciless conquerors. These people have been long diftinguished, however improperly, by the name of Black Charaibes.

OF the origin of these intruders, and their ancient connection with the native Charaibes, the best account that I have been able to find is in a fmall treatife of the author above quoted (Doctor Campbell) entitled " Candid and impartial confiderations on the nature of the Sugar-trade," which being equally authentick and curious, I shall present to my readers entire; and with the less scruple, because it consists chiefly of an official paper which cannot be abridged without injury.

" In 1672, King Charles thought fit to divide these governments, and by a new commission appointed Lord Willoughby Governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica; Sir William Stapleton being appointed Governor of the other Leeward Isles, and this separation has fubfifted ever fince, the fame Islands being conflantly inserted in every new Governor's patent. On the demife of Lord Willoughby, Sir Jonathan Atkins was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and the rest of these Islands, and so continued till 1680, when he was fucceeded by Sir Richard

Dutton,

BOOK Dutton, who being fent for to England in 1685, appointed Colonel Edwin Stede Lieutenant Governor, who vigorously afferted our rights by appointing Deputy Governors for the other Islands; and particularly fent Captain Temple hither to prevent the French from wooding and watering without our permission, to which they had been encouraged by the inattention of the former Governors; perfifting fleadily in this conduct, till it was fignified to him, as we have had occafion to remark before, that the king had figned an act of neutrality, and that commissioners were appointed by the two courts, to fettle' all differences relative to these Islands.

" Some years after, a ship from Guinea, with a large cargo of flaves, was either wrecked or run on shore upon the Island of St. Vincent, into the woods and mountains of which great numbers of the negroes escaped (a). Here, whether willingly or unwillingly is a little uncertain, the In-

(a) I am informed by Sir William Young, who is perfectly well acquainted with thefe people, that they were originally a race of Mocoes, a tribe or nation from the Bight of Benin. They were wrecked on the coast of Bequin, a small island about two leagues from St. Vincent, in the year 1675, and were afterwards joined by great numbers of fugitive negroes from the other islands. The Red Charaibes first kept them in flavery; but finding their numbers encrease, came to a refor lution to put to death all their male children; upon which the blacks rose on their masters, who by degrees have almost all perished in the contest.

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dians suffered them to remain, and partly by the CHAP. accession of runaway slaves from Barbadoes, partly by the children they had by the Indian women, they became very numerous; fo that about the beginning of the current century they constrained the Indians to retire into the north-west part of the island. These people, as may be reasonably supposed, were much diffatisfied with this treatment; and complained of it occasionally both to the English and to the French, that came to wood and water amongst them. The latter at length fuffered themselves to be prevailed upon to attack these invaders, in the cause of their old. allies; and from a perfuafion that they should find more difficulty in dealing with these Negroes, in case they were suffered to strengthen themfelves, than with the Indians. After much deliberation, in the year 1719, they came with a confiderable force from Martinico, and landing without much opposition, began to burn the Negro huts and destroy their plantations, supposing that the Indians would have attacked them in the mountains, which if they had done, the blacks had probably been extirpated, or forced to fubmit and become flaves. But either from fear or policy, the Indians did nothing, and the Negroes fallying in the night, and retreating in the day to places inaccessible to the whites, de-

stroyed

414

BOOK stroyed so many of the French, (amongst whom was Mr. Paulian, major of Martinique, who commanded them) that they were forced to retire. When by this experiment they were convinced that force would not do, they had recourse to fair means, and by dint of perfuasions and presents, patched up a peace with the Negroes as well as the Indians, from which they received great advantage.

"THINGS were in this fituation when Captain Uring came with a confiderable armament to take poffession of St. Lucia and this Island, in virtue of a grant from our late fovereign King George I. to the late Duke of Montague. When the French had dislodged this gentleman, by a fuperior force from St. Lucia, he fent Captain Braithwaite to try what could be done at the Island of St. Vincent, in which he was not at all more fuccessful, as will best appear from that gentleman's report to Mr. Uring, which, as it contains feveral curious circumstances relative to the country, and to the two independent nations who then inhabited it, belongs properly to this subject, and cannot but prove entertaining to the reader. The paper is without date, but it appears from Mr. Uring's memoirs that this transaction happened in the spring of the year 1723."

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"THE REPORT.

IN pursuance of a resolution in council, and CHAP. your order for fo doing, the day you failed with his Grace's colony for Antego, I failed " with the Griffin floop, in company with his " Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, to St. Vincent. We made the island that night, and next " morning run along shore, and saw several In-" dian huts, but as yet no Indians came off to " us, nor could we get ashore to them, by reason there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening, two Indians came on board, and " told us, we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor they would bring " their General on board. Here we came to an " anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for " the floop. One, whom they call General, came on board, with several others, to the " number of twenty-two. I entertained them " very handsomely, and made the Chief some " triffing presents, but found he was a person of " no consequence, and that they called him Chief " to get some present from me. Here two of " the Indians were to drunk they would not " go ashore, but staid on board some days, and " were well entertained. After this, little winds " and great currents drove us off for feveral days; 66 but

HISTORY OF THE

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" but at last, we came to an anchor in a spacious " bay, to leeward of all the island, the draught " of which I ordered to be taken by our furveyor, " for your better understanding the place, being " the only one where a fettlement could be made. " The ship and sloop were scarce come to an-" chor, before the strand of the shore was cover-" ed with Indians, and among them we could " discover a white, who proved to be a French-" man. I took Captain Watson in the boat with " me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went " ashore. As soon as I came amongst them, I " asked them, why they appeared all armed? " For every man had cutlaffes, some had mus-" quets, piftols, bows and arrows, &c. They " with very little ceremony inclosed me, and " carried me up the country about a mile, over " a little rivulet, where I was told I was to fee " their General. I found him fitting amidst a " guard of about a hundred Indians, those nearest "his person had musquets, the rest bows and " arrows, and great filence. He ordered me a " feat, and a Frenchman flood at his right hand, " for an interpreter: he demanded of me, what " brought me into his country, and of what na-" tion? I told him English, and I was put in to " wood and water, as not caring to fay any thing " else before the Frenchman; but told him if he " would be pleased to come on board our ships, " I would * I would leave Englishmen in hostage for him CHAP.

" and those he should be pleased to bring with

" him; but I could not prevail with him either

" to come on board, or fuffer me to have wood

" and water. He faid he was informed we were

come to force a fettlement, and we had no other

" way to remove that jealoufy but to get under

" fail. As foon as I found what influence the

" Frenchman's company had upon them, I took

" my leave, after making fuch replies as I thought

" proper, and returned to my boat under a guard.

When I came to the shore, I found the guard

" there were increased by a number of Negroes,

" all armed with fuzees. I got in my boat, with-

out any injury, and went on board to Captain

Orme, and told him my ill fuccess.

"IMMEDIATELY after, I fent on shore the

fhip's boat with a mate, with rum, beef and

bread, &c. with fome cutlaffes, and ordered a

" Frenchman who went with the mate, to defire

" the guard to conduct them to their General,

" and to tell him, that though he denied me the

common good of water and a little useless

wood, nevertheless I had fent him such refresh-

" ments as our ships afforded. Our people found

" the Frenchman gone, and that then the In-

dian General feemed pleafed, and received what

was fent him, and in return fent me bows and

¿ arrows."

VOL. I.

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HISTORY OF THE

BOOK

"Our people had not been long returned "before their General fent a canoe, with two " chief Indians, who fpoke very good French, to " thank me for my presents, and to ask pardon " for his refufing me wood and water, and affured " me I might have what I pleased; and they had " orders to tell me, if I pleased to go ashore " again, they were to remain hostages for my " civil treatment. I fent them on board the man " of war, and with Captain Watson went on " fhore. I was well received, and conducted as " before. But now I found the brother of the chief of the Negroes was arrived, with five " hundred Negroes, most armed with fuzees. "They told my interpreter they were affured " we were come to force a fettlement, or elfe they " would not have denied me what they never " before denied any English, viz. wood and " water: But, if I pleafed, I might take in what "I wanted under a guard. Finding them in fo " good a humour, I once more introduced the " defire I had to entertain them on board our " ships, and with some difficulty prevailed with " them, by leaving Captain Watson on shore " under their guard as a hostage. I carried them " on board the King's ship, where they were well " entertained by Captain Orme, who gave the "Indian General a fine fuzee of his own, and " to the Chief of the Negroes fomething that " pleased

be pleased him. Captain Orme affured him of CHAP. " the friendhip of the King of England, &c. " The Negroe Chief fpoke excellent French, and " gave answers with the French compliments.

"Afterwards I carried them on board the Duke's

" floop, and after opening their hearts with wine,

" for they fcorned to drink rum, I thought it a

" good time to tell them my commission, and

" what brought me on their coast. They told

" me it was well I had not mentioned it ashore. " for their power could not have protected me;

" that it was impossible; the Dutch had before

" attempted it, but were glad to retire. They

" likewife told me, two French floops had, the

" day before we came, been amongst them, gave

" them arms and ammunition, and affured them

" of the whole force of Martinico for their pro-

" tection against us. They told them also, that

" they had drove us from St. Lucia, and that now

" we were come to endeavour to force a settlement

" there; and, notwithstanding all our specious

" pretences, when we had power, we should enflave

" them; but declared they would trust no Euro-

" peans; that they owned themselves under the

" protection of the French, but would as foon

" oppose their settling amongst them, or any act

of force from them, as us, as they had lately

" given an example, by killing feveral; and they

further told me, it was by very large presents

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BOOK

"the French ever got in their favour again; but they resolved never to put it in the power of any European to hurt them. They advised me to think what they said was an act of friendthip. This being all I could get from them,

"I difinified them with fuch prefents as his "Grace ordered for that fervice, with a discharge

" of cannon, and received in return as regular

" vollies of small shot as I ever heard. In the inght the Winchelsea drove from her anchors,

" which as foon as I perceived, and had received

" Captain Watson from the shore, I got under

" fail, and flood to the man of war."

Such is the history of a very weak and fruitless attempt which was made, under the authority of the British government, to obtain possession of this island in the year 1723: an interval of forty years fucceeds, in which I find no occurrence in its history that deserves recital. The country continued to be a theatre of favage hostilities between the Negroes and the Charaibes, in which it is believed that the former were generally victorious; it is certain that they proved fo in the end, their numbers, in 1763, being computed at two thousand; whereas of the red or native Charaibes, there were not left (as hath already been observed) more than one hundred families, and most of these, if I am rightly informed, are by this time exterminated. It is however worthy of remark.

remark, that the African intruders have adopted CHAP. most of the Charaibean manners and customs; among the rest, the practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, as described in the first part of this work, and perhaps it was chiefly from this circumstance that they acquired the appellation of the black Charaibes.

THE first measure of the English government in respect to this island, after the peace of Paris, was to dispose of the lands-I dare not say to the best advantage; for no less than 24,000 acres, being more than one-fourth part of the whole country, were gratuitously affigned over to two individuals (a). The remainder was ordered to be fold for the benefit of the publick, and 20,538 acres were accordingly disposed of by auction for the fum of £.162,854. 11 s. 7 d. sterling (b). As

(a) Mr. Swinburne had twenty thousand acres, and General Monckton four thousand; but from the disputes which afterwards arose with the Charaibes, I believe they did not derive all the benefit from those grants which they expected.

(b) The Lords of the Treasury fixed a minimum, below which no land could be fold, which was £. 5 sterling per acre for every acre of cleared land, and twenty shillings for every acre in wood, and the principal conditions of fale were these, "that every purchaser should pay down twenty per cent. of the whole purchase money, together with fix-pence sterling per acre, for the expence of furveying the land, and that the remainder of the purchase money should be secured by bonds:

BOOK nearly one half the country was judged unfit for any profitable cultivation, these grants and fales comprehended all the lands, of any kind of value, from one end of the island to the other. The commissioners indeed were directed not to survey or dispose of any of the lands inhabited or claimed by the Charaibes, until they should receive further instructions from the crown; but as it was impossible to ascertain how far the claims of these people extended, the survey alone was postponed, and the fales were fuffered to proceed, to the amount that I have mentioned; no doubt being entertained by the feveral purchasers, that the British government would ratify the acts of its commissioners, and put them into possession of the lands which they had bought, without any regard to the claims of the Charaibes; which in truth the purchasers seem to have considered as of no confequence or validity.

OF the measures which the British ministers afterwards adopted with regard to these people,

bonds; to be paid by equal inftalments in the space of five years next after the date of the grant. That each purchaser should keep on the lands fo by him purchased, one white man, or two white women, for every hundred acres of land, as it became cleared, for the purpose of cultivating the same; or in default thereof, or non-payment of the remainder of the purchase money, the lands were to be forfeited to the crown." Some of the lands fold extravagantly high, as far as fifty pounds sterling per acre.

I have

I have spoken in the former editions of this work CHAP. harshly and incorrectly; and I feel no disgrace in retracting involuntary error. The representation which I gave, had however the good effect of calling forth an historical account of those measures from my most respectable friend Sir William Young, Bart. founded on official papers and original documents in his poffession, and drawn up with all that candour and perspicuity which were to have been expected from its author's diftinguished character and talents.

As the subject is no longer interesting to the publick, I need only observe, that if the claim of the British crown to the sovereignty of this country was originally just and valid, then I do readily acknowledge that the measures pursued by the British administration to enforce that claim, were as lenient and confiderate as the cafe could poffibly allow; and I was misinformed when I gave a different representation. Nevertheless, I will not facrifice, even on the shrine of friendship, the dignity of historical narration, by afferting that my friend has entirely convinced me that the pretensions of Great Britain were originally founded on any other plea than that of political expediency.-I am here speaking of the British claim, as against the actual possessors of the country, the black Charaibes. This claim, no ceffion or abandonment on the part of France could have Ee4 strength-

424

BOOK strengthened; inasmuch as Great Britain herself constantly disputed the pretensions of that Crown to the neutral islands; St. Vincent among the reft. The Charaibes themselves, as the report above quoted demonstrates, and as my friend admits, uniformly and absolutely denied any right in any of the fovereigns of Europe to their allegiance. They averred that they knew no king, and would acknowledge none. They faid "they had originally been landed on the island by shipwreck, and held it not only by right of conquest over the aborigines, but also by actual posfession for near a century." Such was their title to St. Vincent's, and it would have been difficult, I think, for any nation in Europe to produce a better.

> HAPPILY, by the temperate councils and the humane interpolition of the civil commissioners employed by government to dispose of the lands, the contest with these people (not however until hostilities had been commenced and many lives facrificed) was at length finally compromised and adjusted, to the satisfaction, as it was then hoped, of the contending parties. A treaty of peace and friendship was concluded with them on the 27th February 1773; the articles of which I have fubjoined in an appendix to this chapter.

> By this treaty the fituation of the Charaibes, in respect to the Crown of Great Britain, was defined

and clearly expressed; and I admit that their CHAP. future conduct was to be tried by the terms of it.

On the 19th of June 1779, St. Vincent's shared the common fate of most of the British West Indian possessions, in that unfortunate war with America, which swallowed up all the refources of the nation, being captured by a small body of troops from Martinico, confifting of only four hundred and fifty men, commanded by a Lieutenant in the French navy. The black Charaibes however, notwithstanding the treaty of 1773, immediately joined the enemy, and there is no doubt that the terror which feized the British inhabitants, from an apprehension that those people would proceed to the most bloody enormities, contributed to the very easy victory which was obtained by the invaders; for the island furrendered without a struggle. The terms of capitulation were favourable, and the island was restored to the dominion of Great Britain by the general pacification of 1783. It contained at that time fixty-one fugar effates, five hundred acres in coffee, two hundred acres in cacao, four hundred in cotton, fifty in indigo, and five hundred in tobacco, besides land appropriated to the raising provisions, such as plantains, yams, maize, &c. All the rest of the country, excepting the few

BOOK few spots that had been cleared from time to time by the Charaibes, retained its native woods, and most of it, I believe, continues in the same state to the present hour.

> It is remarkable that no flipulation was made by the French government on this occasion, on behalf of their allies the Charaibes, whom they had feduced from their allegiance; and it therefore reflects great honour, both on the British government and the refident planters, that no advantage was taken of their misconduct. The Charaibes, even those who had been the most active in the war, were permitted to return peaceably to their possessions and occupations. They were treated as an ignorant and deluded people; as objects of compassion, not of vengeance; and it was prudently and generously agreed, as by common consent, to bury all past offences and causes of complaint in oblivion.

> ST. VINCENT'S contains about 84,000 acres, which are every where well watered, but the country is very generally mountainous and rugged; the intermediate vallies, however, are fertile in a high degree, the foil confifting chiefly of a fine mould, composed of fand and clay, well adapted for fugar. The extent of country at present possessed by British subjects is 23,605 acres, and about as much more is supposed to be

held

held by the Charaibes. All the remainder is CHAP. thought to be incapable of cultivation or improvement.

THE Island, or rather the British territory within it, is divided into five parishes, of which only one was provided with a church, and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780: whether it is rebuilt I am not informed. There is one town, called Kingston, the capital of the island, and the feat of its government, and three villages that bear the name of towns, but they are inconfiderable hamlets, confifting each of a few houses only.

But the publick establishment that reflects the greatest honour on St. Vincent's is its celebrated botanick garden, under the provident and well directed care of Mr. Anderson. It confifts of 30 acres, of which no less than fixteen are in high cultivation, abounding not only with almost every species of the vegetable world, which the hand of nature has bestowed on these islands for use and beauty, for food and luxury, but also with many valuable exoticks from the East Indies. and South America.—If it be furpaffed in this latter respect, by the magnificent garden of Mr. East (c), it claims at least the honour of senio-

(c) In Jamaica. See p. 203.

BOOK rity, and does infinite credit both to its original founders and present directors.

In the frame of its government and the administration of executive justice, St. Vincent seems to differ in no respect from Grenada.—The council consist of twelve members, the affembly of seventeen. The Governor's salary (exclusive of fees of office) is two thousand pounds sterling, of which f. 1,300 is a charge upon the fund arising from the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per centum. The remainder is by grant of the affembly.

THE military force confifts at present of a regiment of infantry, and a company of artillery, sent from England; and a black corps raised in the country—but provided for, with the former on the British establishment, and receiving no additional pay from the island. The militia consists of two regiments of foot, serving without pay of any kind.

THE number of inhabitants appears, by the last returns to government, to be one thousand four hundred and fifty Whites, and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three Negroes.

OF the labour of these people I have no other means of shewing the returns, than from the Inspector General's account of the exports from this island for 1787, a table of which, as in the case of the other islands, is subjoined. In this table, how-

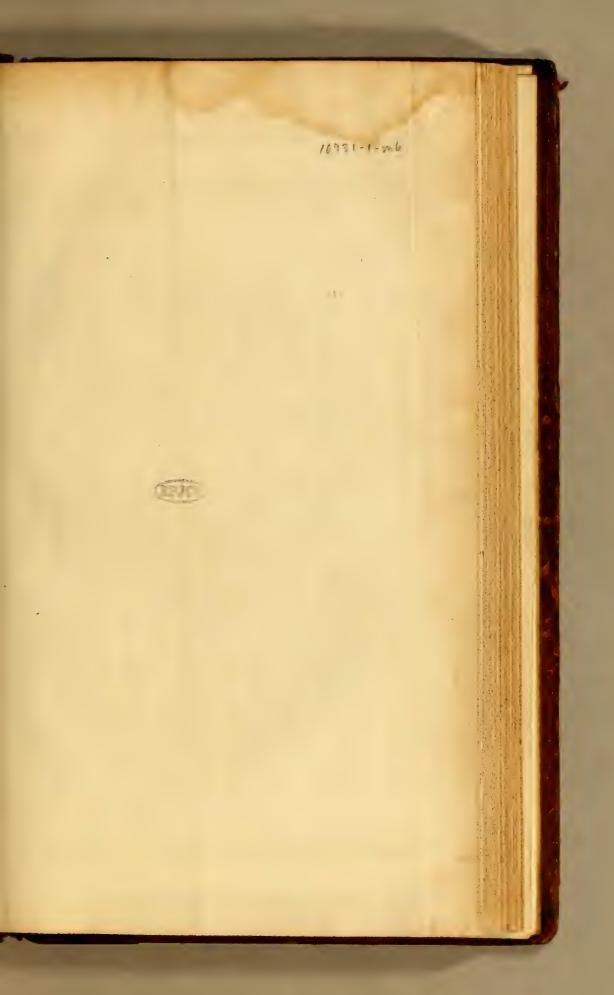
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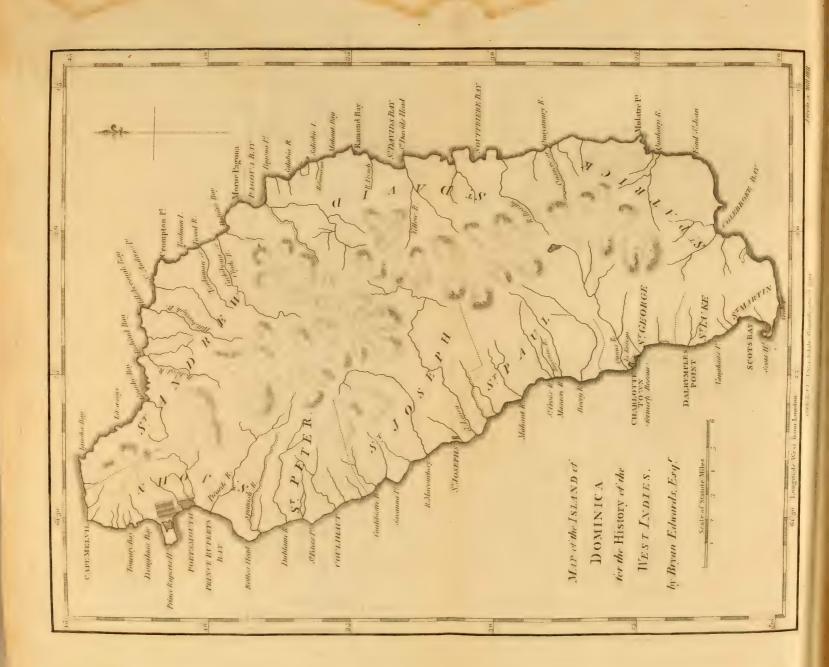
ever, I conceive is comprehended the produce of CHAP. the feveral islands dependant on the St. Vincent government, viz. Bequia, containing 3,700 acres. This little island is valuable from the commodioufness of its fine harbour, called Admiralty Bay; Union, containing 2,150 acres; Canouane, containing 1,777 acres; and Mustique, containing about 1,203 acres (d); the Negroes employed in the cultivation of these islands (in number about 1,400) being, I believe, included in the 11,853 before mentioned.

(d) There are likewise the little Islots of Petit Martinique, Petit St. Vincent, Maillereau, and Balleseau, each of which produces a little cotton.

5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Wen (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared Outwards from the Island of ST. VINCENT, &c. to all Parts of the World, between the their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector General of Great Britain.

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SECTION II.

DOMINICA.

THE island of Dominica, was so named by CHAP. Christopher Columbus, from the circumstance of its being discovered by him on a Sunday (e). My account of it will be very brief, for its civil history, like that of St. Vincent, is a mere blank previous to the year 1759, when by conquest it fell under the dominion of Great Britain, and was afterwards confirmed to the British crown, by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris in February 1763.

NOTWITHSTANDING that Dominica had. until that time, been confidered as a neutral island, many of the subjects of France had established coffee plantations, and other settlements, in various parts of the country; and it reflects honour on the British administration, that these people were secured in their possessions, on con-

(e) November 3d. 1493. It was the first land which he discovered in his fecond voyage, after having been twenty days at sea from the Canaries.

dition

BOOK dition of taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannick Majesty and paying a small quitrent (f). The rest of the cultivable lands were ordered to be fold on the fame conditions as those of St. Vincent, by commissioners nominated for that purpose, and no less than 94,346 acres (comprehending one half of the island) were accordingly disposed of by auction, in allotments from fifty to one hundred acres, yielding the fum of f. 312.092. 11 s. 1 d. sterling money (g).

It does not however appear that the purchases thus made by British subjects have answered the expectation of the buyers; for the French inhatants of Dominica are still more numerous than the English, and possess the most valuable coffee plantations in the island, the produce of which

(f) The crown granted them leafes, some for fourteen, and others for forty years, renewable at the expiration thereof, with conditions in every leafe, " that the possessor, his heirs or affigus, should pay to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, the fum of two shillings sterling per annum, for every acre of land, of which the leafe should confist." And further, "that they should not sell or dispose of their lands, without the confent or approbation of the governor, or commander in chief of that island, for the time being." This indulgence however did not extend to more than three hundred acres of land occupied by each French subject.

(g) No person was allowed to purchase, either in his own name, or in the name of others, in trust for him, more than three hundred acres, if in Dominica, or five hundred acres if in St. Vincent.

has

has hitherto been found its most important staple. CHAP. They differ but little, in manners, customs and religion, from the inhabitants of the other French islands in the West Indies, and their priests have been hitherto appointed by fuperiors in Martinico; to the government of which island, and to the laws of their own nation, they confider themfelves to be amenable.

I AM forry historical justice obliges me to obferve, that the liberal conduct of the British government towards these people, after they became adopted fubjects, did not meet with that grateful return from them, which, for the general interests of mankind, ought to be religiously manifefted on fuch occasions.

AT the commencement of the hopeless and destructive war between Great Britain and her Colonies in North America, the island of Dominica was in a flourishing fituation. The port of Rofeau having been declared a free port by act of parliament, was reforted to by trading veffels from most parts of the foreign West Indies, as well as from America. The French and Spaniards purchased great numbers of Negroes there for the fupply of their fettlements, together with vaft quantities of the merchandize and manufactures of Great Britain; payment for all which was made chiefly in bullion, indigo, and cotton, and Vol. I. completed III.

воок completed in mules and cattle; articles of prime necessity to the planter (h).

> THUS the island, though in itself certainly not fo fertile as some others of less extent in its neighbourhood, was becoming very rapidly a colony of confiderable importance; but unfortunately it wanted that protection, which alone could give its possessions stability and value.

> To those who recollect the frantick rage, with which all the faculties and means of Great Britain were directed towards, and applied in, the fubjugation of America, the utter difregard which was manifested by the then administration towards the fecurity of this and the other British islands in the West Indies, may not perhaps be matter of furprise; but it will hereafter be scarcely believed, that the whole regular force allotted, during the height of the war, for the protection of Dominica, confifted of no more than fix officers and ninety-four privates! This shameful neglect was the more remarkable, as this island, from its local fituation, between Martinico and Guadaloupe, is the best calculated of all the possessions of Great Britain in that part of the world, for

fecuring

⁽h) Roseau is still a free-port, but the restrictions and regulations of the late act are fo rigid, that foreigners are difcouraged from reforting to it, and, fince fome late feizures, confider the law as a fnare to invite them to ruin.

fecuring to her the dominion of the Charaibean fea. A few ships of war stationed at Prince Rupert's Bay, would effectually stop all intercourse of the French settlements with each other, as every vessel is liable to capture by ships cruizing off that bay, and to windward of the island. This indeed was discovered when it was too late.

It is probable that this, and the other circumflances which I have recounted, namely, the growing profperity of the colony, and the criminal inattention of the British Ministry towards its security, had already attracted the vigilant rapaciousness of the French government; but it is afferted, that many of the inhabitants within the colony, who had formerly been subjects of France, scrupled not, on the first intimation that hostilities had been commenced in Europe, in the year 1778, to invite an attack from Martinico. Proof of this may not perhaps easily be produced, but it is certain that their subsequent conduct gave too much cause for such a suspection.

On Monday, the 7th of September, in that year, a French armament, confifting of a forty-gun ship, three frigates, and about thirty sail of armed sloops and schooners, having on board two thousand regular troops, and a lawless banditti of volunteers, about half that number, appeared off the island, under the command

of

Ff2

воок of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, and general of the French Windward West-Indian Islands. Part of the troops having foon afterwards landed without opposition, the enemy proceeded to the attack of Fort Cashacrou, the chief defence of the island, and in which a detachment of the regulars was stationed. This fort was built on a rock, about three hundred feet in perpendicular height, furrounded on three fides by the fea, and was confidered fo very defensible, that it was supposed a few hundred men, well provided, would maintain it against as many thousands. Great therefore was the astonishment of the English in the town of Roseau, in perceiving, by the French colours flying on it, that this fort had furrendered without refistance: but, strange as it may feem, the case appeared afterwards to have been, that some of the French inhabitants had infinuated themselves into the fort a few nights before, and having intoxicated with liquor the few foldiers that were there on duty, had contrived to spike up the cannon!

> HAVING thus made themselves masters of Fort Cashacrou, the enemy landed their whole force about noon, and began their march for the town, which was defended by Fort Melville, and three other batteries; but unfortunately these batteries were ill provided, and worse manned. The whole number of the militia did not exceed

> > one

one hundred and twenty; for but few of the CHAP. French inhabitants thought proper to affemble; and of those that made their appearance, many withdrew themselves again, and were no more feen until the ifland had furrendered.

THE small force however that was collected, behaved with that fpirit and gallantry, which give room to lament they were not better fupported. Three times was the enemy driven out of Fort Loubiere, of which they had possessed themselves in their march, and twice were the colours which they had hoifted thereon shot away. Their commissary-general, and forty of their foldiers, were killed, and Bouillé himself had a very narrow escape; his fword being shot away from his fide *.

But gallantry was unavailing against such superiority of numbers; for about two thousand of the French having gained possession of the heights above Rofeau, this last circumstance determined the fate of the island. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, obtained for them, from their liberal and noble-minded conqueror, very honourable terms of capitulation. Besides being permitted to march out with all military honours, they were allowed to retain

* General Bouillé himfelf afterwards affected to say, that he lost no men in the attack of Fort Loubiere, except the commissary-general. The fact however was as above stated.

VOL. I.

Ff3

their

BOOK their arms, their civil government, and the free exercise of their religion, laws, customs, and ordinances; to preserve the administration of justice in the same persons in whom it was then vested, and to enjoy their possessions, of what nature foever, unmolested; a privilege which was expressly extended to absent as well as resident proprietors.

DE BOUILLE having thus completed his conquest, departed for Martinico; leaving the Marquis Duchilleau, (a man of a far different character) commander in chief of Dominica; whose conduct, during four years that he continued in the island, is said to have been fo wantonly oppressive and tyrannical, that we are left to wonder at the patient longfuffering and forbearance of the people under his government, in submitting to it for half the time.

His first measure was to disarm the English inhabitants, in direct violation of the capitulation, and he entered into a treaty with the runaway Negroes for their affiftance, if wanted. He iffued an order, forbidding the English to affemble together more than two in a place, and he commanded the centinels to disperse them if they were found together in greater numbers. He ordered that no lights should be seen in their houses houses after nine o'clock at night, and that no English person should presume to walk the streets after that hour, without a candle and lanthorn. Mr. Robert How, an English merchant, and owner of a ship then in the bay, attempting to go on board his own vessel after that hour, was shot dead in the attempt; and the centinel who killed him was raised to a higher station in his regiment, for having thus (as the governor expressed it) done his duty.

So very apprehensive was this governor that the English inhabitants were forming designs to retake the island, that every letter of theirs was opened for his inspection before it was delivered. And, deeming this measure insufficient to furnish him with the knowledge of their private transactions, he adopted the practice of going himself in disguise, or employing others who better knew the English language, in order to listen at their doors and windows in the night-time, to the conversation which passed in domestick intercourse.

HE repeatedly threatened to fet fire to the town of Roseau, in case the island should be attacked; and, though this was never attempted by the English forces, yet that town was set fire to (as it was believed) by the French soldiers, and there was every reason to suppose that the go-

Vol. I. Ff4 vernor

воок vernor was privy to it. This supposition was ftrongly corroborated by his behaviour on the night of that melancholy scene, at which he himfelf was present the best part of the time, and, it is very confidently afferted, would not allow his foldiers to affift in extinguishing the flames, save only in houses that belonged to the French inhabitants.

> This fire happened the evening of Easter Sunday, 1781, by which upwards of five hundred houses were confumed in a few hours; and a vast quantity of rich merchandize and effects destroyed, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

WHILE the wretched inhabitants were thus groaning under domestick despotism, they had no refources from without. Their trade was entirely cut off, infomuch, that during five years and three months, the time that the island of Dominica was in possession of the French, it was not reforted to by any veffels from Old France, nor was any of its produce exported to that king. dom; but part of it was fent in neutral bottoms to the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius, before its capture by Admiral Rodney; and from thence it was exported to England, under the most extravagant expences and loss to the proprietors.

OTHER

OTHER parts of their produce were fent in CHAP. Dutch veffels, which were engaged for the purpose in England, to Rotterdam; and after the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, the produce of Dominica was fent under imperial colours to Oftend, where the fugar fold from fix to eight pounds sterling the hogshead.

THESE accumulated diffresses ended in the abfolute ruin of many of the planters, and no less than thirty fugar plantations were, in confequence thereof, thrown up and abandoned by the proprietors. At length, however, the day of deliverance arrived; for, in the month of January 1783, Dominica was reftored to the government of England. The joy which, on this event, animated the bosom and enlightened the countenance of every man, whom painful experience, under an arbitrary government, had taught to fet a right value on the British constitution, may be conceived, but cannot be described. The inhabitants were now restored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, under a civil establishment, fimilar to those of the other British colonies in the West Indies, which being hereafter to be described at length, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon in this place, except to observe, that the legislative authority of this island is vested in the commander in chief, a council of twelve gentlemen,

BOOK tlemen, and an affembly of nineteen members (k). The few observations therefore which follow, concerning its present state and productions, will conclude my account.

Dominica contains 186,436 acres of land; and is divided into ten parishes. The town of Roseau is at present the capital of the island, and is fituated in the parish of St. George, being about seven leagues from Prince Rupert's bay. It is on a point of land on the S. W. fide of the island, which forms two bays, viz. Woodbridge's bay to the north, and Charlotteville bay to the fouthward.

Roseau is about half a mile in length, from Charlotteville to Rofeau river, and mostly two furlongs in breadth, but less in some parts, being of a very irregular figure. It contains not more than five hundred houses, exclusive of the cottages occupied by Negroes. Before its capture by the French, it contained upwards of one thousand.

THIS island is twenty-nine miles in length, and may be reckoned fixteen miles in breadth. It contains many high and rugged mountains, interspersed with fine vallies, and in general they appear to be fertile. Several of the mountains

(k) The governor's falary, exclusive of his fees of office, is £. 1,300 sterling, payable out of the 4 1/2 per cent. duties; whether he has any addition from the colonial affembly, I am not informed.

contain

contain unextinguished volcanoes, which frequently discharge vast quantities of burning sulphur. From these mountains also issue springs of hot water, some of which are supposed to possess great virtue in the case of tropical disorders. In some places the water is said to be hot enough to coagulate an egg (1).

Dominica is well watered, there being upwards of thirty fine rivers in the island, besides a great number of rivulets. The soil, in most of the interior country, is a light, brown-coloured mould, and appears to have been washed from the mountains. Towards the sea-coast, and in many of the vallies, it is a deep, black, and rich native earth, and seems well adapted to the cultivation of all the articles of West Indian produce. The under stratum is in some parts a yellow or brick clay, in others a stiff terrace, but the land is in most places very stony.

I AM afraid, however, that the quantity of fertile foil bears but a very small proportion to the whole; there not being more than fifty sugar

(1) In the woods of Dominica are innumerable swarms of bees, which lodge in the trees, and produce great quantities of wax and honey, both of which are equal in goodness to any in Europe. It is precisely the same species of bee as in Europe, and must have been transported thither; the native bee of the West Indies being a smaller species, unprovided with stings, and very different in its manners from the European.

plantations

BOOK plantations at present in cultivation, and it is computed, that on an average, one year with another, those fifty plantations do not produce annually more than three thousand hogsheads of fugar. This is certainly a very finall quantity of that article for fuch an extensive island, or even for the number of fugar plantations at present under cultivation, allowing only one hundred acres of canes to each.

> Coffee feems to answer better than fugar. there being fomewhat more than two hundred coffee plantations in Dominica, which in favourable years have produced three millions of pounds weight.

> A SMALL part of the lands are also applied to the cultivation of cacao, indigo, and ginger; but I believe that most of these articles, as well as of the cotton, which are comprehended in the exports, have hitherto been obtained from the dominions of foreign states in South America, and imported into this island under the free-port law.

> THE number of white inhabitants, of all defcriptions and ages, appears, by the last returns to government, in 1788, to be 1,236; of free negroes, &c. 445, and of flaves 14,967. There are also from twenty to thirty families of the ancient natives, or Charaibes, properly fo called. They are a very quiet, inoffensive people, speak a language

a language of their own, and a little French, but CHAP.

none of them understand English (m).

Such is the information which I have collected concerning the civil history and present state of Dominica, for great part of which I am indebted to a late publication by Mr. Atwood (n).

Nothing

(m) A late writer gives the following account of these people: "They are of a clear copper colour, have long, sleek, black hair: their persons are short, stout, and well made, but they disfigure their faces by flattening their fore-heads in infancy. They live chiesly by sishing in the rivers and the sea, or by sowling in the woods, in both which pursuits they use their bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is said they will kill the smallest bird with an arrow at a great distance, or transsix a sish at a considerable depth in the sea. They display also very great ingenuity in making curious wrought panniers, or baskets, of silk grass, or the leaves and bark of trees."

(n) See the History of the Island of Dominica, by Mr. Thomas Atwood, 1791. Treating of the natural productions of this island, Mr. Atwood gives the following account of an infect, which he calls the vegetable fly. "It is of the appearance and fize of a small cockchafer, and buries itself in the ground, where it dies; and from its body springs up a small plant, which resembles a young coffee-tree, only that its leaves are smaller. The plant is often overlooked, from the supposition people have of its being no other than a coffee plant; but on examining it properly, the difference is easily distinguished; the head, body, and feet of the infect appearing at the foot, as perfect as when alive." This account is extraordinary but not more surprising than the Rev. Nicholas Collins's description, in the American Philosophical Transactions *, of a certain zoophyton in the Ohio coun-

^{*} Introduction to vol. iii. p. 23.

HISTORY OF THE

воок Nothing now remains but to fet forth the particulars and value of its productions, which I shall adopt, as in other cases, from the return of the Inspector General for the year 1787.

> try, which (he declares) is alternately vegetable and animal; for having crawled about the woods in its animal state until it grows weary of that mode of existence, it fixes itself in the ground, and becomes a stately plant, with a stem issuing from its mouth." I give these accounts as I find them, without wouching for the veracity of either.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vestels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Dominica, to all Parts of the World, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London.

WEST INDIES.								447
Total Value according to the Prices current in London.		£. s. d.	271,472 14 -	9 11 006,61	7,164 5 -	4,295 3 6	- 1 551	- 302,987 15 -
Value of Mifcellaneous Articles, as Hydes,Dying Woods, &c.		£. s.d.	11,635 11 3	200	194 — -	21 13 6	416-	6 01 216(11
Ginger.	Cwt.		191	I	I	1	Į,	161
Cotton.	lbs.		990'196	9,750	ı	I	- 1	970,816
Indigo.	lbs.		11,250	1	1	1	1	11,250
Coffee. Indigo, Cotton. Ginger.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		17,387 3 6	1	543	612	1	18,149 3 6
Cacao.	No Tons. Men. Cwt. qrs. ibs. Gallons. Gallons. Cwt. qrs. ibs. Cwt. qrs. ibs.		1,126 2 26 17,387 3 6 11,250 961,066	% !	45	1.5° 1.	1	1,194 3 2 18,149 3 6 11,250 970,816
Rum. Melaffes.	Gallons.		9,423	1	1	7,380	I	-
Rum.	Gallons.		1,492	3,600	31,600	25,400	1,300	63,392
Sugar.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		966 58,665 1 21 1,492	85 11,163	147 1,066 31,600	408 25,400	Î	162 18,126 1,814 71,302 1 21 63,392 16,803
10.	Men.		996			96	520	1,814
Shipping.	Tons.		8,682	9 1,046	2,003	14 1,096	67 5,299	18,126
S	°Z		56		16	14	67	162
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APPENDIX

T O

CHAP. III. OF BOOK II.

A TREATY of Peace and Friendship, concluded the 17th of February 1773, between his Excellency General Dalrymple, on the part of His Britannick Majesty, and by the Chiefs of Grand Sable, Masiraca, Rabacca, Macaricau Byera, Coubamaron Jambon, Colourie, Camacarabou Ourawarou, and Point Espaniol, for themselves, and the rest of the Charaibes of St. Vincent; that is to say:

APPEN-DIX.

- "I. All hostile proceedings are to cease, and a firm and lasting peace and friendship to succeed.
- "The Charaibes shall acknowledge his Majesty to be the rightful sovereign of the island and domain of St. Vincent's; take an oath of sidelity to him as their King; promise absolute submission to his will, and lay down their arms.
- "3. They shall submit themselves to the laws and obedience of his Majesty's government, and the Gowernor shall have power to enact further regulations for the public advantage as shall be convenient. (This article only respects their transactions with his Majesty's subjects, not being Indians; their intercourse and customs with each other, in the quarters allotted them,

them, not being affected by it.) And all new regula- CHAP. tions are to receive his Majesty's Governor's approba-"tion before carried into execution.

" 4. A portion of lands, hereafter mentioned, shall be " allotted for the residence of the Charaibes; viz. from " the river Byera to Point Espagniol on the one fide, and " from the river Analibou to Point Espagniol on the other fide, according to lines to be drawn by his Ma-"jesty's surveyors, from the sources of the rivers to the " tops of the mountains; the rest of the lands, formerly "inhabited by Charaibes, for the future to belong en-" tirely to his Majesty.

" 5. Those lands shall not be alienated, either by " fale, leafe, or otherwife, but to perfons properly autho-" rized by his Majesty to receive them.

6. Roads, ports, batteries, and communications shall " be made, as his Majesty pleases.

"7. No undue intercourse with the French islands " shall be allowed.

8. Run-away flaves in the possession of the Cha-" raibes are to be delivered up, and endeavours used to "difcover and apprehend the others; and an engage-"ment shall be entered into, not to encourage, receive, " or harbour any flave whatever: the forfeiture of lands fhall be the penalty for harbouring flaves; and carrying "them off the island shall be considered as a capital « crime.

" q. Persons guilty of capital crimes against the " English are to be delivered up.

VOL. I.

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" 10. In

HISTORY OF THE

APPEN- "10. In time of danger, the Charaibes shall be aiding DIX. "and affishing to his Majesty's subjects against their "enemies.

- " II. The three chains to remain to his Majesty.
- "12. All conspiracies and plots against his Majesty, or his government, are to be made known to his Gowernor, or other civil magistrates.
- "13. Leave (if required) is given to the Charaibes to depart this island, with their families and properties, and affistance in their transportation.
- "14. Free access to the quarters allowed to the Charaibes is to be given to persons properly empowered
 to go in pursuit of run-away slaves, and safe conduct
 safforded them.
- "15. Deferters from his Majesty's service (if any)
 and run-away slaves from the French, shall be delivered up, in order that they may be returned to their
 masters.
- "16. The chiefs of the different quarters are to render an account of the names and number of the inhabitants of their respective districts.
- "are to attend the Governor, when ever required, for his Majesty's service.
- " 18. All possible facility, consistent with the laws of Great Britain, is to be afforded to the Charaibes in the fale of their produce, and in their trade to the different British islands.

" 19. Entire

" 19. Entire liberty of fishing, as well on the coast CHAP.

" of St. Vincent's, as at the neighbouring keys, is to be allowed them.

"20. In all cases, when the Charaibes conceive themselves injured by his Majesty's other subjects, or other
persons, and are desirous of having reference to the
selves, or to the civil magistrates, an agent, being one
of his Majesty's natural born subjects, may be employed by themselves, or if more agreeable at his Majesty's cost.

"21. No strangers, or white persons, are to be allowed to settle among the Charaibes, without permission first obtained in writing from the Governor.

"22. These articles subscribed to and observed, the Charaibes are to be pardoned, secured, and fixed in their property, accordingly to his Majesty's directions given, and all past offences forgot.

"23. After the figning of this treaty, should any of the Charaibes refuse to observe the condition of it, they are to be considered and treated as enemies by both parties, and the most effectual means used to reduce them.

"24. The Charaibes shall take the following oath; viz.

"We, A. B. do fwear, in the name of the immortal God, and Christ Jesus, that we will bear true allegiance to his Majesty George the Third, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.; and that we will pay due obedience to the laws of Great Britain, and Gg2 "the

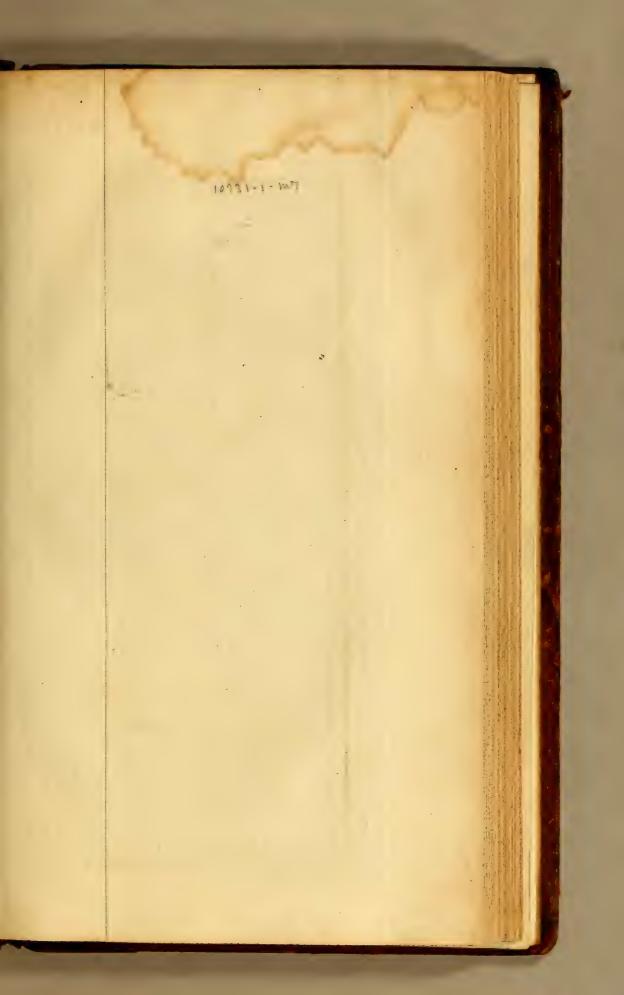
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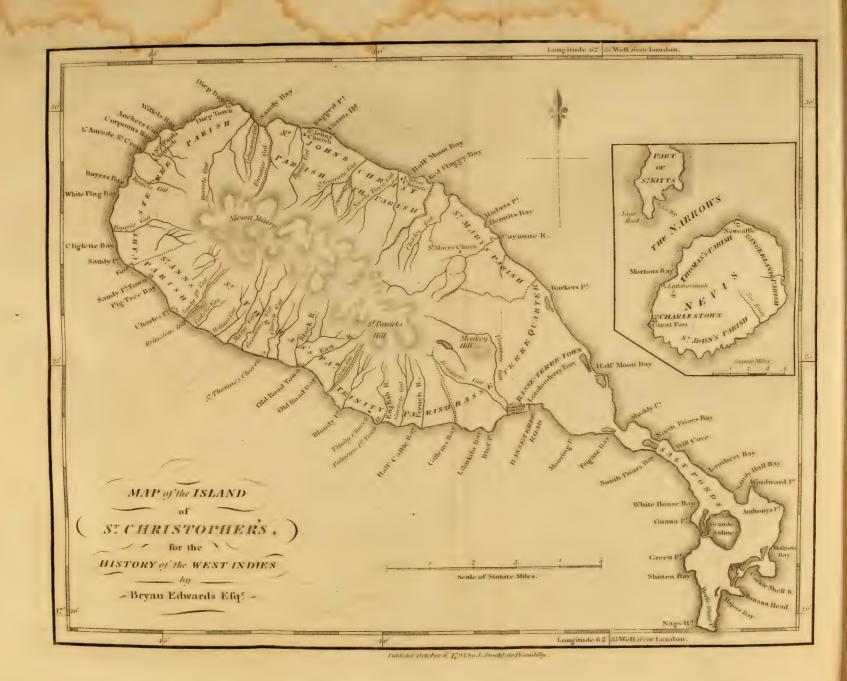
"the Island of St. Vincent; and will well and " truly observe every article of the treaty con-" cluded between his faid Majesty and the Cha-" raibes; and we do acknowledge that his faid " Majesty is rightful Lord and Sovereign of all the "Island of St. Vincent, and that the lands held "by us the Charaibes are granted through his

> "On the part of his Majesty, " W. Dalrymple.

"On the part of the Charaibes,

« Simon, " Lalime, fenior. " Baüamont, " Justin Baüamont, " Matthieu, " Jean Louis Pacquin, " Gadel Goibau, " John Baptiste, " Lonen, " Boyüdon, " Du Vallet, " Boucharie, " Deruba Babilliard, " Canaia."





C H A P. IV.

Leeward Charaibean Island Government, comprehending St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montferrat, and the Virgin Islands .- Civil History and Geographical Description of each.—Table of Exports from each Island for 1787; and an Account of the Money arising from the Duty of Four and a Half per Cent. Observations concerning their Decline; and a short Account of the Islands of Bermudas and the Bahamas.

THE British Leeward Islands, fince the year CHAP. 1672, have conflituted one diffinct government; the governor being stiled Captain General of the Leeward Charaibean Islands. He visits each occasionally, but his chief seat of residence is Antigua; the government of each, in the absence of the governor-general, being usually administered by a lieutenant-governor, whose authority is limited to that particular island, and where no lieutenant-governor is appointed, the prefident of the council takes the command. I shall treat of them feparately, and afterwards combine, in a concife fummary, those circumstances which are common to them all.

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THEIR

BOOK III. THEIR civil history will be short; for in this part of my subject I have but little to add to the recital of Oldmixon, and other writers, who have preceded me; and where novelty is wanting, brevity is indispensibly requisite.

SECTION I.

ST. CHRISTOPHER's.

THE island of St. Christopher was called by its ancient possess, the Charaibes, Liamuiga, or the Fertile Island. It was discovered in November 1493, by Columbus himself, who was so pleased with its appearance, that he honoured it with his own Christian name. But it was neither planted nor possessed by the Spaniards. It was, however (notwithstanding that the general opinion ascribes the honour of seniority to Barbadoes) the eldest of all the British territories in the West Indies, and, in truth, the common mother both of the English and French settlements in the Charaibean islands. The fact, as related by an historian (a), to whose industry and knowledge I have been so largely indebted in my ac-

(a) Dr. John Campbell.

count

count of St. Vincent, was this, "In the number of those gentlemen who accompanied Captain Roger North, in a voyage to Surinam, was Mr. Thomas Warner, who making an acquaintance there with Captain Thomas Painton, a very experienced seaman, the latter suggested how much easier it would be to fix, and preserve in good order, a colony in one of the small islands, de-

fpised and deserted by the Spaniards; than on that vast country, the continent, where, for want of sufficient authority, all things were fallen into confusion; and he particularly pointed out for that purpose the island of St. Christopher. This

gentleman dying, Mr. Warner returned to England in 1620, refolved to put his friend's project in execution. He accordingly affociated himfelf with fourteen other persons, and with them took his passage on board a ship bound to Vir-

ginia. From thence he and his companions failed from St. Chriftopher's, where they arrived in January 1623, and by the month of September following had raifed a good crop of tobacco, which they proposed to make their staple com-

modity." It has been shewn in a former chapter, that the first actual establishment in Barbadoes, took place the latter end of 1624.

By the generality of historians, who have treated of the affairs of the West Indies, it is afferted that a party of the French, under the command

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of

BOOK of a person of the name of D'Esnambuc, took possession of one part of this island, on the same day that Mr. Warner landed on the other; but the truth is, that the first landing of Warner and his affociates happened two years before the arrival of D'Esnambuc; who, it is admitted by Du Tertre, did not leave France until 1625. Unfortunately, the English settlers, in the latter end of 1623, had their plantations demolished by a dreadful hurricane, which put a fudden ftop to their progress. In consequence of this calamity, Mr. Warner returned to England to implore fuccour; and it was on that occasion that he fought and obtained the powerful patronage and support of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. This nobleman caused a ship to be fitted out, laden with all kinds of necessaries. It was called the Hopewell; and arrived at St. Christopher's on the 18th of May 1624; and thus he certainly preserved a settlement, which had otherwise died in its infancy. Warner himself did not return to St. Christopher's until the year following. He was then accompanied by a large body of recruits, and D'Esnambuc arrived about the same time; perhaps the fame day. This latter was the captain of a French privateer; and, having in an engagement with a Spanish galleon of superior strength, been very roughly handled, he was obliged, after losing several of his men, to feek

feek refuge in these islands. He brought with CHAP. him to St. Christopher's about thirty hardy veterans, and they were cordially received by the English, who appear at this time to have been under some apprehensions of the Charaibes. Hitherto Warner's first colony had lived on friendly terms with these poor favages, by whom they were liberally supplied with provisions; but having feized on their lands, the consciousness of deferving retaliation made the planters apprehenfive of an attack, when probably none was intended. Du Tertre relates, that the French and English receiving information of a projected revolt, concurred in a scheme for seizing the conspirators beforehand. Accordingly they fell on the Charaibes by night, and, having murdered in cold blood from one hundred to one hundred and twenty of the stoutest, drove all the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom, says the reverend historian, they made concubines and flaves. Such is the account of a contemporary author, Pere Du Tertre, who relates these transactions with perfect composure, as founded on common usage, and not unwarrantable in their nature. adds, that fuch of the Charaibes as escaped the maffacre, having given the alarm to their countrymen in the neighbouring islands, a large body of them returned foon afterwards, breathing re-

venge;

458

III.

BOOK venge; and now the conflict became ferious. The Europeans, however, more from the fuperiority of their weapons, than of their valour, became conquerors in the end; but their triumph was dearly purchased; one hundred of their number having been left dead on the field of battle.

> AFTER this exploit, which Du Tertre calls a glorious victory, the Charaibes appear to have quitted altogether this and some of the small islands in the neighbourhood, and to have retired fouthwards. The two leaders, Warner and D'Efnambuc, about the same time, found it necessary to return to Europe for the purpose of foliciting fuccour from their respective nations; and bringing with them the name of conquerors, they feverally met with all possible encouragement. Warner was knighted by his fovereign, and through the interest of his noble patron sent back as governor in 1626 with four hundred new recruits, amply supplied with necessaries of all kinds; while Defnambuc, under the patronage of Richlieu (the minister of France) projected the establishment of an exclusive company for trading to this and some of the other islands. That minister concurred with Desnambuc in opinion, that fuch an inflitution was best adapted to the purposes of commerce and colonization; -an erroneous conclusion, which Defnambuc himself had soon abundant occasion to lament;

> > for

for the French in general either misunderstood CHAP. or disapproved the project. Subscriptions came in reluctantly, and the ships which the new company fitted out on this occasion, were so wretchedly fupplied with provisions and necesfaries, that of five hundred and thirty-two recruits, who failed from France with Defnambuc, in February 1627, the greater part perished miferably at fea for want of food.

THE English received the survivors with compassion and kindness; and for preventing contests in future about their respective limits, the commanders of each nation agreed to divide the whole island pretty equally between their followers. A treaty of partition for this purpose was reduced to writing, and figned, with many formalities, on the third of May 1627: it comprehended also a league defensive and offensive; but this alliance proved of little avail against the Spanish invasion in 1629, the circumstances whereof I have elsewhere related (b). Yet furely, unjustifiable as that attack may be deemed, if the conduct of the new fettlers towards the Charaibes was fuch as Du Tertre relates, we have but little cause to lament over the miseries which befel them. The mind exults in the chaftisement of cruelty, even when the inftruments of vengeance are as criminal as the objects of punishment.

(b) Book II. Chap. ii.

BOOK

It may now be thought that those of the two nations who furvived fo destructive a storm, had learnt moderation and forbearance in the school of adversity; and indeed for some years they appear to have lived on terms of good neighbourhood with each other; but at length national rivalry and hereditary animofity were allowed their full influence, infomuch that, for half a century afterwards, this little island exhibited a disgusting scene of internal contention, violence, and bloodshed. It is impossible at this time to pronounce with certainty, whether the French or the English were the first aggressors. It is probable that each nation would lay the blame on the other. We are told that in the first Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II. the French king declaring for the United States, his fubjects in St. Christopher's, disdaining an inglorious neutrality, attacked the English planters, and drove them out of their possessions; which were afterwards, by the treaty of Breda, restored to them. In 1689, in consequence of the revolution which had taken place in England the preceding year, the French planters in this island, declaring themfelves in the interests of the abdicated monarch, attacked and expelled their English neighbours a fecond time, laying wafte their plantations, and committing fuch outrages as are unjustifiable among civilized nations, even in a time of open and

CHAP.

and avowed hostility. Their conduct on this occasion was deemed so cruel and treacherous, that it was affigned by King William and Queen Mary among the causes which induced them to declare war against the French nation. Even fortune herfelf, inclining at length to the fide of justice, from henceforward deferted them; for, after they had continued about eight months fole masters of the island, the English under the command of General Codrington, returning in great force, not only compelled the French inhabitants to furrender, but actually transported eighteen hundred of them to Martinico and Hispaniola. It is true, that reparation was stipulated to be made them by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; but war again breaking out between the two nations in 1702, the French planters derived but little advantage from that clause in their favour. They had however, in 1705, the gloomy fatisfaction to behold many of the English possessions again laid waste by a French armament, which committed fuch ravages, that the British parliament-found it necessary to distribute the sum of £. 103,000 among the fufferers, to enable them to re-fettle their plantations. Happily, this was the last exertion of national enmity and civil discord within this little community; for, at the peace of Utrecht, the island was ceded wholly to the English, and the French possessions publickly fold

BOOK fold for the benefit of the English government. In 1733, f. 80,000 of the money was appropriated as a marriage portion with the Princess Anne, who was betrothed to the Prince of Orange. Some few of the French planters, indeed, who confented to take the oaths, were naturalized, and permitted to retain their estates.

> Such were the origin and progress of the British establishment in the Island of St. Christopher. The circumstances which attended the French invasion in the beginning of 1782, when a garrison of less than one thousand effective men (including the militia) was attacked by eight thousand of the best disciplined troops of France, supported by a fleet of thirty-two ships of war; the consequent surrender of the island, after a most vigorous and noble defence; and its restoration to Great Britain by the general peace of 1783, being within every person's recollection, need not be related at large in this work. I shall therefore conclude with the following particulars, which I prefume are fomewhat less familiar to the general reader, and their accuracy may be depended on.

St. Christopher lies in 17° 15' North latitude, and 63° 17' West longitude; it is about fourteen leagues in circuit, and contains 43,726 acres of land, of which about 17,000 acres are appropriated to the growth of fugar, and 4,000

to pasturage. As sugar is the only commodity CHAP. of any account that is raifed, except provisions and a little cotton, it is probable, that nearly one half the whole island is unfit for cultivation. The interior part of the country confifts indeed of many rugged precipices, and barren mountains. Of these, the loftiest is Mount-Misery (evidently a decayed volcano) which rifes 3,711 feet in perpendicular height from the sea (b). Nature, however, has made abundant amends for the sterility of the mountains, by the fertility she has bestowed upon the plains. No part of the West-Indies that I have seen, possesses even the same species of soil that is found in St. Christopher's. It is in general a dark grey loam, fo light and porous as to be penetrable by the flightest application of the hoe; and I conceive it to be the production of fubterraneous fires, the black ferruginous pumice of naturalists, finely incorporated with a pure loam, or virgin mould. The under stratum is gravel, from eight to twelve inches deep. Clay is no where found, except at a confiderable height in the mountains.

(b) There is an immense crater on the top of this mountain, the bottom of which is nearly level, and supposed to contain 50 acres, of which feven are covered with water; the rest are clothed with high grass and trees, among which the mountain cabbage is very conspicuous. From the crannies or fiffures of this crater still flow streams of hot water, which are strongly impregnated with fulphur, alum, and vitriolick acid.

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III.

By what process of nature the soil which I have mentioned becomes more especially suited to the production of fugar than any other in the West Indies, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. The circumstance, however, is unquestionable. Canes, planted in particular spots, have been known to yield 8,000 lbs. of Muscovado sugar from a single acre. One gentleman, in a favourable feafon, made 6,400 lbs. or four hogsheads of fixteen cwt. each per acre, on an average return of his whole crop. It is not however pretended, that the greatest part, or even a very large proportion of the cane land, throughout the island, is equally productive. The general average produce for a feries of years is 16,000 hogsheads of fixteen cwt. which, as one-half only of the whole cane land, or 8,500 acres, is annually cut (the remainder being in young canes) gives nearly two hogsheads of fixteen cwt. per acre for the whole of the land in ripe canes; but even this is a prodigious return, not equalled I imagine by any other fugar country in any part of the globe. In Jamaica, though fome of the choicest lands may yield in favourable years two hogsheads of fixteen cwt. per acre; the cane land which is cut annually, taken altogether, does not yield above a fourth part as much.

I AM informed, however, that the planters of St.

St. Christopher's are at a great expence for manure; that they never cut ration canes (c); and although there is no want in the country of springs and rivulets for the support of the inhabitants, their plantations suffer much in dry weather, as the substratum does not long retain moisture (d).

This island is divided into nine parishes, and contains four towns and hamlets, viz. Basseterre (the present capital, as it was formerly that of the French, containing about 800 houses) Sandy-Point, Old Road, and Deep Bay. Of these, the two first are ports of entry, established by law. The fortifications consist of Charles-Fort and Brimstone-Hill, both near Sandy-Point; three batteries at Basseterre, one at Fig-Tree Bay, another at Palmeto-Point, and some smaller ones of no great importance.

THE proportion which St. Christopher's contributes, with the other islands, towards an honourable provision for the Governor General, is £. 1,000 currency per annum; which is settled on him by the assembly immediately on his ar-

(c) Ratoon cames are shoots from old roots, as will be fully explained hereafter.

(d) The woods on the mountainous part of this island harbour abundance of a small species of monkey, troops of which frequently come down to devour the canes, and do inconceivable mischief.

Vol. I. Hh rival.

CHAP.

BOOK rival. He has besides some perquisites; and in time of war they are confiderable.

> EACH island within this government has a separate council, and each of them an affembly. or house of representatives. In St. Christopher's, the council should consist of ten members, but it is feldom that more than feven are present. The house of affembly is composed of twentyfour representatives, of whom fifteen make a quorum. The requisite qualification is a freehold of forty acres of land, or a house worth forty pounds a year. Of the electors, the qualification is a freehold of ten pounds per annum.

> THE Governor of this, and the other islands in the fame government, is chancellor by his office, and in St. Christopher's fits alone. Attempts have been made to join some of the council with him, as in Barbadoes; but hitherto without fuccefs, the inhabitants choosing rather to fubmit to the expence and delay of following the chancellor to Antigua, than fuffer the inconveniency of having on the chancery bench judges, fome of whom it is probable, from their fituation and connections, may be interested in the event of every fuit that may come before them.

In this island, as in Jamaica, the jurisdiction of both the King's Bench and Common Pleas, centers in one superior court, wherein justice is administered by a chief justice and four puisne

judges.

judges. The chief is appointed by the crown, CHAP. the others by the governor in the King's name, and they all hold their commissions during pleafure. The office of chief judge is worth about f. 600 per annum. The emoluments of the affiftant judges are trifling.

THE present number of white inhabitants is computed at 4,000, and taxes are levied on 26,000 negroes; and there are about three hundred blacks and mulattoes of free condition.

As in the other British islands in the neighbourhood, all the white men from the age of fixteen to fixty are obliged to enlift in the militia, and in this island they serve without pay. They form two regiments of foot, although the whole number of effective men in each regiment feldom exceeds three hundred; but there is likewise a company of free blacks, and this, before the late war, constituted the whole of the military force within the ifland; the British government refusing to fend them troops of any kind.

OF the wisdom of such conduct in Great Britain, the reader will be able properly to judge, when he is told, that the natural strength of this island, from the conformation and inequalities of its furface, is fuch, that a garrison of two thoufand effective troops, properly supplied with ammunition and provisions, would in all human

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probability

HISTORY OF THE

468

BOOK probability have rendered it impregnable to the formidable invasion of 1782.

> WITH St. Christopher's furrendered also the island of Nevis; from which it is divided only by a fmall channel, and of which I shall now give fome account.

> > SECTION II.

NEVIS.

THIS beautiful little fpot is nothing more than a fingle mountain, rifing like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea; the circumference of its base not exceeding eight English leagues. It is generally believed that Columbus bestowed on it the appellation of Nieves, or The Snows, from its refemblance to a mountain of the same name in Spain, the top of which is covered with fnow; but it is not an improbable conjecture, that in those days a white smoke was seen to issue from the fummit, which at a diffance had a fnow-like appearance, and that it rather derived its name from thence. That the island was produced by fome volcanick explosion, there can be no doubt; for there is a hollow, or crater, near the fummit, still visible, which contains a hot spring strongly impregnated

impregnated with fulphur; and fulphur is fre- CHAP. quently found in fubstance, in the neighbouring gullies and cavities of the earth.

THE country is well watered, and the land in general fertile, a fmall proportion towards the fummit of the island excepted, which answers however for the growth of ground provisions, fuch as yams and other esculent vegetables. The foil is flony; the best is a loose black mould, on a clay. In some places, the upper stratum is a stiff clay, which requires labour, but properly divided and pulverifed, repays the labour bestowed upon it. The general produce of fugar (its only staple production) is one hogshead of fixteen cwt. per acre from all the canes that are annually cut, which being about 4,000 acres, the return of the whole is an equal number of hogsheads, and this was the average fixed on by the French government in 1782, as a rule for regulating the As at St. Chriftopher's the planters feltaxes. dom cut ratoon canes.

THIS island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes. It contains a town called Charles-Town, the feat of government and a port of entry, and there are two other shipping places, called Indian-Caftle and New-Caftle. The principal fortification is at Charles-Town, and is called Charles Fort. The commandant is appointed by the crown, but receives a falary from the island,

Hh 3

воок ии. THE government, in the absence of the Governor-General, is administered by the president of the council. This board is composed of the president, and six other members. The house of assembly consists of sisteen representatives; three for each parish.

THE administration of common law is under the guidance of a chief justice, and two affistant judges, and there is an office for the registry of deeds.

THE present number of white inhabitants is stated to me not to exceed fix hundred, while the negroes amount to about ten thousand; a disproportion which necessarily converts all such white men as are not exempted by age or decrepitude, into a well-regulated militia, among which there is a troop consisting of sifty horse, well mounted and accoutred. English forces, on the British establishment, they have none.

THE English first established themselves in this island in the year 1628, under the protection and encouragement of Sir Thomas Warner. Among the different classes of men, who sought to improve their fortunes in St. Christopher's by the patronage of that enterprising leader, it can hardly be presumed, that every individual experienced the full gratification of his hopes and expectations. In all societies, there are many who will consider themselves unjustly overlooked

and

and forgotten. Of the companions of Warner's CHAP. earliest voyages, it is probable that some would fet too high a value on their fervices, and of those who ventured afterwards, many would complain, on their arrival, that the best lands were pre-occupied. To foften and temper such discordancy and disquiet, by giving full employment to the turbulent and feditious, feems to have been one of the most important objects of Warner's policy. Motives of this nature induced him, without doubt, to plant a colony in Nevis at fo early a period; and the wisdom and propriety of his first regulations gave strength and stability to the settlement.

WHAT Warner began wisely, was happily completed by his immediate fucceffor Mr. Lake, under whose administration Nevis rose to opulence and importance. "He was a wife man," fays Du Tertre, " and feared the Lord." Making this island the place of his residence, it flourished beyond example. It is faid, that about the year 1640, it possessed four thousand whites: fo powerfully are mankind invited by the advantages of a mild and equitable fystem of government! Will the reader pardon me, if I observe at the same time, that few fituations in life could have afforded greater felicity than that of fuch a governor. Living amidst the beauties of an eternal spring, beneath a sky serene and unclouded. Hh4

BOOK ed, and in a spot inexpressively beautiful (for it is enlivened by a variety of the most enchanting prospects in the world, in the numerous islands which furround it) but above all, happy in the reflection that he conciliated the differences, administered to the necessities, and augmented the comforts of thousands of his fellow-creatures, all of whom looked up to him as their common father and protector. If there be pure joy on earth, it must have existed in the bosom of such a man; while he beheld the tribute of love, gratitude, and approbation towards him in every countenance, and whose heart at the same time told him that he deferved it.

I AM forry that I must present the reader with a very different picture, in the account that I am now to give of Antigua.

SECTION III.

ANTIGUA.

ANTIGUA is situated about twenty leagues to the eastward of St. Christopher's, and was discovered at the same time with that island, by Columbus himself, who named it, from a church in Seville, Santa Maria de la Antigua.

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We are informed by Ferdinand Columbus, that the Indian name was Jamaica. It is a fingular circumstance, that this word, which in the language of the larger islands fignified a country abounding in Springs, should, in the dialect of the Charaibes, have been applied to an island that has not a single spring or rivulet of fresh water in it.

THIS inconvenience, without doubt, as it rendered the country uninhabitable to the Charaibes, deterred for fome time the European adventurers in the neighbouring islands from attempting a permanent establishment in Antigua; but nature presents few obstacles which the avarice or industry of civilized man will not endeavour to furmount. The lands were found to be fertile, and it was discovered that cisterns might be contrived to hold rain-water (c). So early as 1632, a few English families took up lands there, and began the cultivation of tobacco. Among these was a son of Sir Thomas Warner, whose descendants still possess very considerable property in the island, one of them (Ashton Warner, Esquire) having been, in 1787, president of the council, and commander in chief in the absence of the governor.

But the fettlement was nearly ftrangled in its

(c) The water thus preferved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholesome.

infancy.

BOOK infancy. In 1666, a French armament from Martinico, co-operating with a body of Charaibes, invaded the island, and ravaged the country with fire and fword. All the negroes that could be found, were taken away; and the inhabitants, after beholding their houses and estates in flames, were plundered even to the clothes on their backs and the shoes on their feet, without regard to fex or age.

Its recovery from this calamity was owing chiefly to the enterprifing spirit and extensive views of Colonel Codrington, of Barbadoes. This gentleman removing to Antigua about the year 1674, applied his knowledge in fugarplanting with fuch good effect and fuccess, that others, animated by his example, and affifted by his advice and encouragement, adventured in the fame line of cultivation. Mr. Codrington was fome years afterwards nominated captaingeneral and commander in chief of all the leeward Charaibean islands, and, deriving from this appointment, the power of giving greater energy to his benevolent purposes, had foon the happiness of beholding the good effects of his humanity and wisdom, in the flourishing condition of the feveral iflands under his government.

THE prosperity of Antigua was manifested in its extensive population; for when, in the year 1690, General Codrington commanded on the expedition

expedition against the French inhabitants of St. CHAP. Christopher's, as hath been related in the history of that island; Antigua furnished towards it no less than eight hundred effective men: a quota, which gives room to estimate the whole number of its white inhabitants at that time, at upwards of five thousand.

MR. CODRINGTON dying in 1698, was fucceeded in his government by his fon Christopher; a gentleman eminently diffinguished for his attainments in polite literature; and who, treading in the same paths as his illustrious father, gave the people under his government the promife of a long continuance of felicity (d). His administration, however, terminated at the end of fix years; for in 1704 he was superfeded (I know not on what account) by Sir William Mathews; who dying foon after his arrival, the Queen was pleased to appoint to the government of this and the neighbouring islands, Daniel Park, Esq; a man whose tragical end having excited the attention of Europe, and furnished a lesson for history to perpetuate, I shall be excused

(d) He was the author, if I mistake not, of a copy of verses prefixed to Garth's Dispensary, in which is this beautiful triplet:

> I read thee over with a lover's eye: Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can fpy; Thou art all beauty ;-or all blindness I.

for

476

BOOK

for entering fomewhat at large into his conduct and fortune.

MR. PARK was a native of Virginia, and was diffinguished for his fuccesses at a very early time of life. Having married a lady of fortune in America, his first exploit was to rob his wife of her money, and then defert her. With this money he came to England, and obtained a return to parliament; but gross bribery being proved against him, he was expelled the house. His next adventure was to debauch the wife of a friend, for which being profecuted, he quitted England, and made a campaign with the army in Flanders, where he had the fortune to attract the notice, and acquire the patronage, of the Duke of Marlborough.—In 1704, he attended the Duke as one of his aides-de-camp, and as fuch, on the event of the battle of Hochstet, having been fent by his Grace to England, with intelligence of that important victory, he was rewarded by the Queen with a purse of a thoufand guineas, and her picture richly fet with diamonds. The year following, the government of the Leeward Islands becoming vacant, Mr. Park, through the interest of his noble patron, was appointed to fucceed Sir William Mathews therein, and he arrived at Antigua in July

As he was a native of America, and his interest

terest with the British administration was believed CHAP. to be confiderable, the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, who were probably unacquainted with his private character, received him with fingular respect, and the affembly of Antigua, even contrary to a royal instruction, added a thousand pounds to his yearly income, in order, as it was expressed in the vote, to relieve him from the expence of house-rent; a provision which, I believe, has been continued ever fince to his fucceffors in the government.

THE return which Mr. Park thought proper to make for this mark of their kindness, was an avowed and unrestrained violation of all decency and principle. He feared neither God nor man; and it was foon observed of him, as it had formerly been of another detestable tyrant, that he spared no man in his anger, nor woman in his lust. One of his first enormities was to debauch the wife of a Mr. Chefter, who was factor to the royal African company, and the most considerable merchant in the island. Apprehending that the injured husband might meditate revenge, the worthy governor endeavoured to be beforehand with him, by adding the crime of murder to that of adultery; for Chester having about this time had the misfortune to kill a person by accident, his excellency, who had raifed a common foldier to the office of provost-marshal, brought him to

a trial

воок a trial for his life; directing his instrument the provost-marshal, to impanel a jury of certain persons, from whom he doubted not to obtain Chefter's conviction; and the execution of this innocent and injured man would undoubtedly have followed, if the evidence in his favour had not proved too powerful to be overborne; fo that the jury were compelled to pronounce his acquittal.

ANOTHER of his exploits was an attempt to rob the Codrington family of the island of Barbuda (of which they had held peaceable poffeffion for thirty years) by calling on them to prove their title before himself and his council; a meafure which gave every proprietor reason to apprehend that he had no fecurity for his poffeffions but the governor's forbearance.

HE declared that he would fuffer no provoftmarshal to act, who should not at all times summon fuch juries as he should direct. He changed the mode of electing members to serve in the affembly, in order to exclude persons he did not like; and not being able by this measure to procure an affembly to his wish, he refused to call them together even when the French threatened an invasion.

HE entered the house of Mr. Chester, the person before mentioned, with an armed force, and feized feveral gentlemen (some of them the principal

principal men of the island) who were there met CHAP. for the purpose of good fellowship, on suspicion that they were concerting measures against himfelf; most of whom he fent by his own authority to the common jail, and kept them there without bail or trial.

By these, and a thousand other odious and intemperate proceedings, the whole country became a party against him, and dispatched an agent to England to lay their grievances before the crown, adopting, in the first instance, all moderate and legal means to procure his removal; but from the delays incident to the business, the people loft all temper, and began to confider forbearance as no longer a virtue. More than one attempt was made on the governor's life, in the last of which he was grievously, but not mortally, wounded. Unhappily the furious and exasperated state of men's minds admitted of no compromife, and the rash impetuous governor was not of a disposition to soften or conciliate, if occasion had offered.

AT length, however, instructions came from the crown, directing Mr. Park to refign his command to the lieutenant-governor, and return to England by the first convenient opportunity; at the same time commissioners were appointed to take examinations on the fpot, concerning the complaints which had been urged against his conduct.

480

BOOK conduct. It would have been happy if the inhabitants of Antigua had borne their fuccess with moderation; but the triumphant joy which they manifested, on receipt of the Queen's orders, provoked the governor into desperation. declared that he would continue in the government in spite of the inhabitants, and being informed, that a ship was about to fail for Europe, in which he might conveniently have embarked, he refused to leave the country. In the meanwhile, to convince the people that his firmness was unabated, and that he still considered himfelf in the rightful exercise of his authority, he iffued a proclamation to diffolve the affembly.

MATTERS were now coming fast to an iffue. The affembly continued fitting notwithstanding the governor's proclamation, and refolved, that having been recalled by his fovereign, his continuance in the government was usurpation and tyranny, and that it was their duty to take charge of the fafety and peace of the island. On hearing of this vote, the governor fecretly ordered a party of foldiers to furround them; but the affembly having obtained information of his intentions, immediately separated to provide for their personal safety. The ensuing night, and the whole of the following day, were employed in fummoning the inhabitants from all parts of the island, to hasten to the capital, properly armed,

armed, to protect their representatives. It was CHAP. given out, however, that the governor's life was not aimed at; all that was intended, was to fecure his person, and fend him from the island.

On Thursday the 7th of December 1710, early in the morning, about five hundred men appeared in arms, in the town of Saint John's, where Colonel Park had been making provision for refistance in case of an attack. He had converted the government house into a garrison, and flationed in it all the regular troops that were in the island. On the approach of the inhabitants however, his courage deferted him. The fight of an injured people, coming forward as one man, with deliberate valour, to execute on his person that punishment which he must have been conscious his enormities well merited, overwhelmed him with confusion and terror. Although he must have been apprized, that his adversaries had proceeded too far to retreat, he now, for the first time, when it was too late, had recourse to concession. He dispatched the provost-marshal with a message, signifying his readiness to meet the affembly at Parham, and to confent to whatever laws they should think proper to pass for the good of the country. He offered at the same time to dismiss his soldiers, provided fix of the principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for the safety of his VOL. I. Ιi person.

воок person. The speaker of the assembly, and one of the members of the council, unwilling to carry matters to the last extremity, seemed inclined to a compromife, and proposed themselves as two of the hostages required by the governor; but the general body of the people, apprehensive that further delay might be fatal to their cause, called aloud for immediate vengeance; and infantly marched forward in two divisions. One of these, led by Mr. Piggot, a member of the affembly, taking possession of an eminence that commanded the government house, attacked it with great fury. The fire was brifkly returned for a confiderable time, but at length the affailants broke into the house. The governor met them with firmness, and shot Piggot dead with his own hand, but received in the fame moment, a wound which laid him proftrate. His attendants, feeing him fall, threw down their arms, and the enraged populace, feizing the person of the wretched governor, who was still alive, tore him into a thousand pieces, and scattered his reeking limbs in the ftreet. Besides the governor, an enfign and thirteen private foldiers, who fought in his cause, were killed outright, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded. the people, thirty-two were killed and wounded, besides Mr. Piggot. The governor's death instantly put an end to this bloody conflict.

THUS

Thus perished, in a general insurrection of CHAP. an infulted and indignant community, a brutal and licentious despot, than whom no state criminal was ever more defervedly punished. He was a monfter in wickedness, and being placed by his fituation beyond the reach of ordinary restraint, it was as lawful to cut him off by every means possible, as it would have been to shoot a wild beast that had broke its limits, and was gorging itself with human blood. "The people of England," fays an eminent writer (e), " heard with aftonishment of Park's untimely fate; but the publick were divided in their fentiments; fome looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others confidering it as a facrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the man, at last got the better." In the latter affertion however, the writer is clearly mistaken; for the English government, after full investigation, was fo thoroughly fatisfied of Mr. Park's misconduct, as to iffue, much to its honour, a general pardon of all persons concerned in his death, and two of the principal actors therein were even promoted fome time afterwards to feats in the council.

From this period I close my account of the civil concerns of Antigua, finding no occurrence

(c) Univerfal History, vol. XLI.

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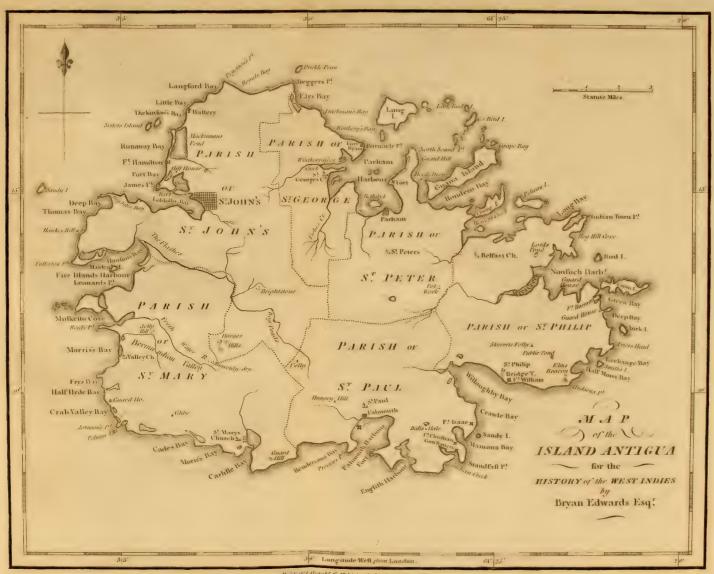
III.

BOOK in its subsequent history of sufficient importance to detain the reader; what remains therefore is chiefly topographical, and I hope will be found correct.

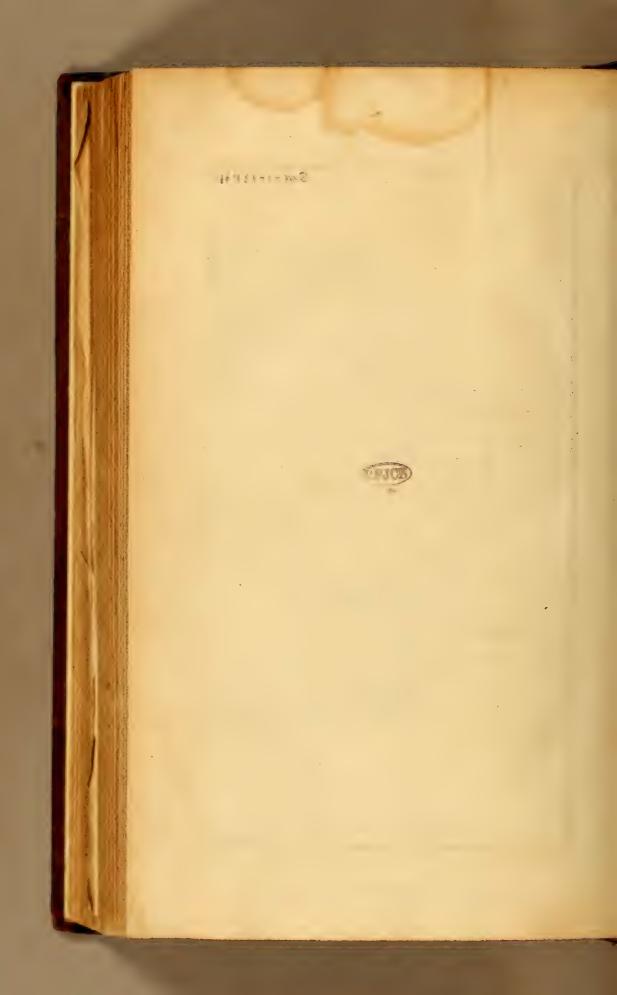
> ANTIGUA is upwards of fifty miles in circumference, and contains 59,838 acres of land, of which about 34,000 are appropriated to the growth of fugar, and pafturage annexed: its other principal staples are cotton-wool and tobacco; to what extent of cultivation I am not informed; and they raise in favourable years great quantities of provisions.

> THIS island contains two different kinds of foil; the one a black mould on a substratum of clay, which is naturally rich, and when not checked by excessive droughts, to which Antigua is particularly subject, very productive. other is a stiff clay on a substratum of marl. is much less fertile than the former, and abounds with an inirradicable kind of grass, in such a manner, that many estates confisting of that kind of foil, which were once very profitable, are now so impoverished and overgrown with this fort of grass, as either to be converted into pasture land, or to become entirely abandoned. Exclusive of such deserted land, and a small part of the country that is altogether unimprovable, every part of the island may be said to be under cultivation.

> > FROM



Publishid Octobe 6, 179 J. by J. Stockdale Piccadilly



From the circumstances that have been re- CHAP. lated, it is difficult to furnish an average return of the crops, which vary to fo great a degree, that the quantity of fugar exported from this island in some years, is five times greater than in others; thus in 1779 were shipped 3,382 hogsheads, and 579 tierces; in 1782 the crop was 15,102 hogsheads, and 1,603 tierces; and in the years 1770, 1773, and 1778, there were no crops of any kind; all the canes being deftroyed by a long continuance of dry weather, and the whole body of the negroes must have perished for want of food, if American vessels with corn and flour had been at that time, as they now are, denied admittance (f).

IT feems to me on the whole, that the island has progressively decreased both in produce and white population. The last accurate returns to government were in 1774. In that year, the white inhabitants of all ages and fexes were 2.500, and the enflaved negroes 37,808, and I believe, that 17,000 hogsheads of sugar of fixteen cwt. are reckoned a good faving crop. This, as one-half the canes only are cut annually, is about a hogshead of sugar per acre for each

(f) In the year 1789, there was no fall of rain for feven months, whereby there was not only no crop of fugar, but 5,000 head of horned cattle perished for want of water.

Ii 3

acre,

BOOK acre that is cut. The produce of 1787 will be given hereafter; and I believe it was a year more favourable to Antigua, in proportion to its extent, than to any other of the British islands in the West Indies.

> ANTIGUA is divided into fix parishes and eleven districts, and contains fix towns and villages. Saint John's (g), (the capital) Parham, Falmouth, Willoughby Bay, Old Road, and James Fort; of which, the two first are legal ports of entry.-No island, in this part of the West Indies, can boast of so many excellent harbours. Of these, the principal are English harbour and Saint John's, both well fortified, and at the former, the British government has established a royal navy-yard and arfenal, and conveniencies for careening ships of war.

THE military establishment generally consists of two regiments of infantry, and two of foot militia. There are likewise a squadron of dragoons, and a battalion of artillery, both raifed in the island, and the regulars receive additional pay, as in Jamaica.

IT hath been already observed, that the governor or captain-general of the leeward Cha-

raibean

⁽g) The town of Saint John was nearly destroyed by fire on the 17th of August 1769; upwards of 260 houses being confumed; besides wharfs, cranes, &c. &c.

CHAP.

raibean islands, although directed by his instructions to visit occasionally each island within his government, is generally stationary at Antigua: he is chancellor of each island by his office, but commonly holds the court in Antigua, and in hearing and determining causes from the other islands, presides alone. In causes arising in Antigua, he is assisted by his council, after the practice of Barbadoes; and, by an act of the assembly of this island, confirmed by the crown, the president and a certain number of the council may determine chancery causes during the absence of the governor-general. The other courts of this island are a court of king's-bench, a court of common-pleas, and a court of exchequer.

THE legislature of Antigua is composed of the commander in chief, a council of twelve members, and an affembly of twenty-five; and it is very much to its honour that it presented the first example to the fister islands of a melioration of the criminal law respecting negroe flaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of a trial by jury: and allowing in the case of capital convictions four days between the time of fentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten Ii4

BOOK enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the flave-trade, is an account of the labours of the fociety known by the name of the Unitas Fratrum, (commonly called Moravians) in this truly glorious pursuit; from which it appears that their conduct in this business difplays fuch found judgment, breathes fuch a spirit of genuine christianity, and has been attended with fuch eminent fuccess, as to entitle its brethren and missionaries to the most favourable reception, from every man whom the accidents of fortune have invested with power over the poor Africans; and who believes (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow-creatures, and of equal importance with himself in the eyes of an all-seeing and impartial governor of the universe. With an abridgment of that account, I shall close the subject of my present discussion.

> "THE church of the united brethren have. ever fince the year 1732, been active in preaching the gospel to different heathen nations in many parts of the world, but not with equal fuccess in all places. The method here defcribed, and made use of by the missionaries of the faid church, in leading the negro-flaves in the West Indies to the knowledge and practice

of christianity, is followed, in all points that are CHAP. not local, in all the missions of the brethren.

AFTER many years unfuccessful labour, experience has taught them, that the plain testimony concerning the death and passion of Jesus Christ the Son of God, together with its cause and happy confequences, delivered by a missionary touched with an experimental fense of it, is the furest way of enlightening the benighted minds of the negroes, in order to lead them afterwards. step by step into all truth: they therefore make it a rule, never to enter into an extensive discustion of the doctrines of God's being an infinite spirit, of the holy trinity, &c. nor to feek to open their understandings in those points, until they believe in Jesus, and that the word of the cross has proved itself the power of God unto falvation, by the true conversion of their hearts. Both in the beginning and progress of their inftructions, the missionaries endeavour to deliver themselves as plainly and intelligibly to the faculties of their hearers as possible; and the Lord has given his bleffing even to the most unlearned, that went forth in reliance upon him, to learn the difficult languages of the negroes, fo as to attain to great fluency in them: one great difficulty arises indeed from the new ideas and words necessary to express the divine truths

BOOK to be introduced into them; but even this has been furmounted through God's grace.

As it is required of all believers, that they prove their faith by their works; the brethren teach, that no habit of fin, in any land or place. nor any prevailing custom whatever, can be admitted as a plea for a behaviour not conformable to the moral law of God, given unto all mankind. Upon the fulfilment of this, the missionaries insist every where. Every thing that is accounted decent and virtuous among chriftians, is inculcated into the minds of the people. Drunkenness, adultery, whoredom, forcery, theft, anger and revenge, and all other works of the flesh, as enumerated by our Lord and his Apostles as proceeding from the heart, being plain proofs that man is either unconverted, or again fallen into heathenism and idolatry, it follows of course, that any one guilty of these things is put away from the congregation, and not re-admitted before a true and fincere repentance is apparent, and the offence done away: but it is not fufficient that the believers abstain from open scandal, their private behaviour in their families, and in every occurrence of life, must evidence a thorough change of heart and principles: indeed the believing negroes in Antigua, and in other places where the brethren

have

have missions, are so much under the influence CHAP. of their masters, and of a variety of circumstances that attend their being slaves, that it may perhaps seem more difficult to effect a change of customs and practices, and to enforce a steady christian conduct in all cases amongst them, than amongst free heathens; and yet it must be owned, to the praise of God, that this is visible at present in many thousand converted negroes.

THE missionaries, however, have frequent occasion to see with forrow, how deeply rooted the habit of fin, and the tendency to excuse it, is in the minds of the negroes; who, when unconverted, are particularly given to an unbounded gratification of every fenfual luft; but on this very account it becomes the more needful to watch, and not to fuffer the least deviation from the right path, to remain unnoticed in the believers. It has been before observed, that baptism is administered to none, but to such in whom a thorough conversion of heart is already perceivable. As foon as they are confidered as candidates for baptism, they are subject to the discipline of the church, by which, if they offend, and private admonition and reproof have not the defired effect, they are excluded from the fellowship of the rest, though they may attend publick fervice, and every means is still faithfully applied to bring them back. Thus a communicant.

BOOK municant, in case of an offence given, is not admitted to the Lord's fupper. This discipline has, by God's bleffing, had fo good an effect, that many a believing negro would rather fuffer the feverest bodily punishment than incur it. If they confess their fins, and heartily repent, they are willingly, and, according to the nature of the offence, either privately, or in the presence of a part or the whole of the congregation, readmitted to the fellowship of the church. The believing negroes are not fuffered to attend any where, where the unconverted meet for the fake of feafting, dancing, gaming, &c. and the usual plea of not entering into the sinful part of these diversions, is never admitted, inasmuch as the least step towards vice and immorality, generally plunges them by degrees into gross fins. The hankering after the vain traditions of their forefathers, is confidered as a falling off from that love to the Lord Jesus and his doctrines, which once prompted them to forfake all ungodlinefs, and devote themselves unto God; and if they perfift in evil ways, the faithfulness due to the rest of the flock on the part of the missionaries, demands their separation, left they seduce others.

THE polygamy of the negroes has caused no fmall embarraffment to the missionaries. The following is a short account of the brethren's manner of treating them in this particular:

• When

When a negro man or woman applies as above CHAP. described, to be baptized or received into the congregation, strict enquiry is made concerning every circumstance attending his or her situation and connections in life. If it is found that a man has more than one wife, the question arises, how the brethren have to advise him in this particular: St. Paul fays, " if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away," I Cor. vii. 12; but again he fays, "a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife," 2 Tim. iii. 2. We read of no further precept in the holy scriptures concerning this subject; the brethren therefore were of opinion, that the miffionaries should keep strictly to the following resolutions:

I. THAT they could not compel a man, who had, before his conversion, taken more than one wife, to put away one or more of them, without her or their confent.

II. But yet, that they could not appoint fuch a man to be a helper or fervant in the church; and,

III. THAT a man who believeth in Christ, if he marry, should take only one wife in marriage, and that he is bound to keep himfelf only to that woman, till death parts them.

THE instances that a man has three wives

III.

BOOK are few; all mistresses must of course be put away without exception; besides this, the misfionaries lofe no opportunity of inculcating into the minds of the married people, how to walk in this state conformable to the rules laid down in holy writ, and every deviation from them is feverely cenfured. If any baptized man leaves his wife, and takes another, and takes one or more wives befides the first, or in case he has had two, and one dies, and he should marry another, he is excluded the fellowship of the church. Neither can the brethren admit of the heathenish customs in courting a wife, but they expect, that in case a believer wish to marry, he do all things in a decent and christian manner: it is of course expected that all baptized parents educate their children in the fear of the Lord, shewing them a good example. If by a fale of negroes by auction, or in any other way, wives are torn from their husbands, or husbands from their wives, and carried off to diftant islands, though the brethren do not advise, yet they cannot hinder a regular marriage with another person, especially, if a family of young children, or other circumstances, seem to render an helpmate neceffary; and, as is mostly the case, no hopes remain of the former ever returning. A certificate of baptism is given to every baptized negro, that must thus leave the congregation; and there

walk and conversation in distant parts, they have caused others to hearken to their word and believe.

Though all the above injunctions are of fuch a nature, that they not only war against their heathenish propensities, but even against what some might call excusable indulgencies; yet it is a fact, that at this present time, some thousand negroes in Antigua, and other islands, submit to them with willingness.

THE number of converted Negro flaves under the care of the brethren, at the end of the year 1787, was,

In Antigua, exactly - - - 5,465
In St. Kitt's, a new miffion - - 80
In Barbadoes and Jamaica, about - 100
In St. Thomas, St. Croix, and
St. Jan, about - - - 10,000
In Surinam, about - - - 400
Still living in the West Indies and
Surinam - - - - - - - 16,045
as nearly as can be ascertained from the latest accounts."

496

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK

SECTION IV.

MONTSERRAT.

OF this little island, neither the extent nor the importance demands a very copious discussion. It was discovered at the same time with St. Christopher's, and derived its name from a supposed resemblance which Columbus perceived in the sace of the country, to a mountain of the same name near Barcelona.

The name was all that was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards. Like Nevis, it was first planted by a small colony from St. Christopher's, detached in 1632 from the adventurers under Warner. Their separation appears indeed to have been partly occasioned by local attachments and religious dissensions; which rendered their situation in St. Christopher's uneasy, being chiefly natives of Ireland, of the Romish persuasion. The same causes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for so many persons of the same country and religion adventured thither soon after the first settlement, as to create a white population which it has ever since

fince possessed; if it be true, as afferted by Old- CHAP. mixon, that at the end of fixteen years there were in the island upwards of one thousand white families, constituting a militia of three hundred and fixty effective men.

THE civil history of this little island contains nothing very remarkable. It was invaded by a French force in 1712, and fuffered fo much from the depredations of that armament, that an article was inferted in the treaty of Utrecht for appointing commissioners to enquire into the damages; which, however, were not made good to the fufferers. It was again invaded, and with most of the other islands captured by the French in the late war, and reftored with the reft.

NOTHING therefore remains but to furnish the reader with an account of its present state in respect of cultivation, productions, and exports.

MONTSERRAT is about three leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and is supposed to contain about thirty thousand acres of land, of which almost two-thirds are very mountainous, or very barren. The land in cultivation is appropriated nearly as follows. In fugar, fix thousand acres: In cotton, provisions, and pasturage, two thoufand each. None other of the tropical staples are raifed. Its average crop from 1784 to 1788, were 2,737 hogsheads of sugar of sixteen hundred weight, 1,107 puncheons of Rum, and VOL. I. Kk 275

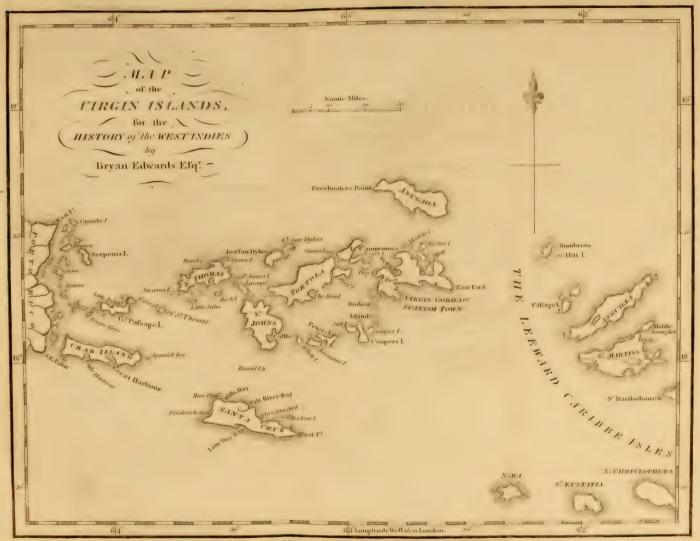
BOOK 275 bales of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be feen in a table annexed to this chapter. They are produced by the labour of one thousand three hundred whites, and about ten thousand negroes.

> THE government is administered in this, as in the other islands, by a legislature of its own, under the captain general. The council confifts of fix members, and the affembly of eight, two from each of the four districts into which it is divided; and the proportion which Montferrat contributes to the falary of the captain general is f. 400 per annum.

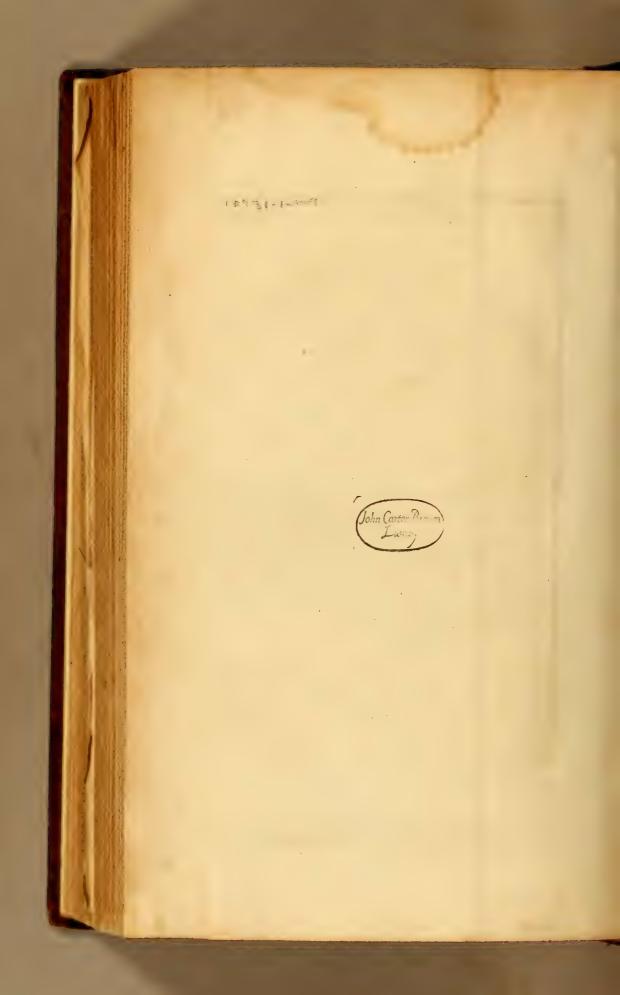
SECTION V.

VIRGIN ISLANDS.

OF the Virgin Islands I have so few particulars to communicate, that I fear the reader will accuse me of inattention or idleness in my refearches. I have, however, folicited information of those who I thought were most likely to afford it; but if my enquiries were not slighted, my expectations were not gratified. Even in a late



Published Octobs 6, 179 Lby J. Stockdale Picondilly.



Tate historical account by Mr. Suckling, the chief CHAP. justice of these islands, I find but little of which I can avail myself. It furnishes no particulars concerning their extent, their cultivation, or their commerce. It is filent as to the number of their present English inhabitants. The author is even misinformed as to the origin of their present name; for he supposes that it was bestowed upon them in 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, in honour of Queen Elizabeth; but the fact is, that these islands were named Las Virgines, by Columbus himself, who discovered them in 1493, and gave them this appellation in allufion to the well-known legend in the Romish ritual of the 11,000 virgins.

THE Spaniards of those days, however, thought them unworthy of further notice. A century afterwards (1596) they were visited by the earl of Cumberland, in his way to the attack of Porto Rico; and the historian of that voyage, whose narrative is preserved in Hakluyt's collection, calls them " a knot of little islands wholly " uninhabited, fandy, barren, and craggy." The whole group may comprehend about forty islands, islots, and keys, and they are divided at present between the English, the Spaniards, and Danes. The English hold Tortola, and Virgin Gorda (h),

(h) This last is likewise called Penniston, and corruptly Spanish Town. It has two very good harbours.

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III.

BOOK Josvan Dykes, Guana Isle, Beef and Thatch Islands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt Island, Peter's Island, and several others of little value. The Danes possess Santa Cruz (i), St. Thomas, with about twelve finaller islands dependent thereon, and St. John, which last is of importance as having the best harbour of any island to the leeward of Antigua, and the Spaniards claim Crab Island, the Green or Serpent Island, the Tropick Keys, and Great and Little Paffage.

THE first possessors of fuch of these islands as now belong to the British government, were a party of Dutch Bucaniers who fixed themselves at Tortola about the year 1648, and built a fortthere for their protection. In 1666, they were driven out by a stronger party of the same adventurers, who, calling themselves English, pretended to take poffession for the crown of England, and the English monarch, if he did not commission the enterprize, made no scruple to claim the benefit of it; for Tortola and its dependencies were foon afterwards annexed to the

Leeward

⁽i) Ste. Croix, or Santa Cruz, belonged originally to the French, and was fold by them to the Danes, in 1733, for the fum of 75,000 l. Its inhabitants are chiefly English, and the lands being exceedingly fertile, the produce of this little island (most of which I believe is smuggled into Great Britain as the produce of Tortola) is very confiderable, particularly fugar.

Leeward Island government, in a commission CHAP. granted by King Charles II. to Sir William Stapleton, and I believe that the English title has remained unimpeached from that time to this.

THE Dutch had made but little progress in cultivating the country when they were expelled from Tortola; and the chief merit of its fubfequent improvements was referved for fome English settlers from the little island of Anguilla, who, about a century past, embarked with their families and fettled in the Virgin Islands. Their wants were few, and their government simple and unexpensive. The deputy governor, with a council nominated from among themselves, exercised both the legislative and judicial authority, determining, in a fummary manner, without a jury, all questions between subject and subject; and as to taxes, there feem to have been none laid: when money was absolutely necessary for publick use, it was raised, I believe, by voluntary contribution.

UNDER fuch a system, it was impossible that the colony could attain to much importance. It wanted the advantage of English capitals; but credit is sparingly given where payment cannot eafily be enforced. The inhabitants therefore, whose numbers in 1756, amounted to 1,263 whites, and 6,121 blacks, reasonably hoped to be put on the same footing with the fifter

Kk3 islands, III.

BOOK islands, by the establishment of a perfect civil government, and conftitutional courts of justice among them; but in this expectation they were not gratified until the year 1773. In that year, they presented an humble petition to the captain-general of the Leeward Island government, requesting his excellency to unite with them in an application to his Majesty, for permission to elect an affembly of representatives out of the freeholders and planters, in order that fuch affembly, with the governor and council, might frame proper laws for their peace, welfare, and good government; pledging themselves, in that ease, to grant to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an impost of four and a half per centum, in specie, upon all goods and commodities the growth of these islands, similar to that which was paid in the other Leeward Islands.

THEIR application (thus fweetened) proved fuccessful. It was fignified to them that his Majesty, fully considering the persons, circumstances, and condition of his faid Virgin Islands, and the necessity there was, from the then state of their culture and inhabitancy, that some adequate and perfect form of civil government should be established therein; " and finally trusting that his " faithful fubjects in his faid Virgin Islands, who " should compose the new affembly, would, as " the first act of legislation, cheerfully make 4 " good

" good the engagement of granting to his Ma- CHAP. " jefty, his heirs and fucceffors, the impost of 1v.

" four and a half per centum on all the produce

" of the Virgin Islands, to be raised and paid in

" the fame manner as the four and a half per

" centum is made payable in the other Leeward

"Iflands," did cause his royal pleasure to be signified to the governor in chief, that he should issue writs in his Majesty's name, for convening an affembly or house of representatives, who, together with a council, to be composed of twelve persons, to be appointed by the governor for that purpose, might frame and pass such laws as should be necessary for the welfare and good government of the said Islands.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 30th of November 1773, the governor in chief of the Leeward Islands, in obedience to his Majesty's orders, iffued a proclamation for convening an assembly or house of representatives of the Virgin Islands, who met on the 1st of February following, and very honourably complied with their engagement to the crown; the very first act passed by them being the grant before mentioned of four and a half per centum, on the produce of the colony for ever. They afterwards passed a grant of £. 400 currency per annum, as their proportion towards the salary of the governor-general.

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Such

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SUCH was the price at which the Virgin Islands purchased the establishment of a constitutional legislature. If it be difficult to reconcile this precedent with the doctrines which have been maintained in the case of Grenada, it may perhaps be said (as I believe the fact was) that the inhabitants of these islands were unapprised of the rights which they inherited as British subjects, when they voluntarily proposed to subject themselves and their posterity to the tax in question for permission to enjoy them; and their posterity may perhaps dispute the authority which their foresathers exercised on this occasion,

The chief, and almost the only staple productions of these islands are sugar and cotton, Of the quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of either, I have no account, nor can I venture even to guess, at the quantity of unimproved land which may yet be brought into cultivation: Tortola itself is not more than sisteen miles long, and six miles broad: the exports of 1787 will presently be given, and I have only to add, that they were raised by the labour of about one thousand two hundred whites, and nine thousand blacks.

HAVING fo far treated of the several islands which constitute what is called the Lee-ward

WEST INDIES.

505

ward Island Government, as they stand distinct CHAP, from each other, I close my account, as in former cases, with an authentick Table of their Returns for 1787; after which, I shall, as proposed, offer a few observations on circumstances which are common to them all.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Veffels, &c. that have Antigua, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, between the 5th January Cargoes, and the Value thereof.

ST. CHRIS.

Whither bound.	SI	HIPPI	ING.	Sugar.	Rum.	
To Great Britain Ireland American States British Colonies in America Foreign West Indies	No. 53 3 21 19 104	11,992 350 2,457 1,201		Cwt. qrs. lbs. 231,397 2 12 3,099 — 386 — 646 —	Gallons. 78,299 8,500 167,740 65,000 15,070	
Total from St. Christopher's —	200	23,155	1,590	235,528 2 12	334,609	
	-				A N	-
To Great Britain Ireland American States British Colonies in America Foreign West Indies	65 16 71 34 47	13,806 1,909 8,281 2,127 2,540	901 159 552 177 259	254,575 1 18 22,295 — — 6,779 — — 844 — — 33 — —	128,936 97,400 375,150 109,320 5,740	
Total from Antigua — —	233	28,663	2,048	284,526 1 18	716,546	
				MONTS	ERRA	Т
To Great Britain — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —	23 20 7 71	5,371 1,850 379 3,085 102	341 138 40 377 8	1,895 — _ 64 — _	4,406 122,710 21,300 140,660	
Total from Montserrat and Nevis	122	10,787	904	110,284 — 21	289,076	
		and the same of th	. 1		VIRGI	N
To Great Britain — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —	25 3 4 8	5,137 572 226 581	344 21 20 51	78,749 I 6 91 — — 363 — —	517 13,900 7,000	
Total from the Virgin Islands -	40	6,516	436	79,203 1 6	21,417	
Grand Total	59 <i>5</i> .	69,121	4,978	709,542 2 1	1,361,648	
A Company of the Comp		-				

cleared outwards from the Islands of St. Christopher's, Montserrat, CHAP.
1787, and the 5th January 1788; together with an Account of their
IV.

TOPHER'S.

Molasses In Gallons. 8,154	lbs. 318	lbs. 484,640	Dying Woods, in Value. £. s. d. 5,824 I 6 ———————————————————————————————————	Miscellaneous Articles, in Value. L. s. d. 33,195 16 10 20 11 — 186 10 — 15 1 6 33,456 19 4	FOTAL: L. s, d. 480,178 15 5 6,035 6 — 15,512 15 — 6,788 10 — 1,498 14 — 510,014 — 5			
- TIGU	A.							
3,510 1,700 700 5,910	26	131,010 29,500	4,142 6 6	46,466 18 3 43 — 407 5 — 14 7 — 1,075 — 48,006 10 3	484,483 19 6 50,768 16 8 44,679 19 2 11,631 15 4 1,632 5 —			
AND NE	VIS							
AND NE	, 4 1 3	•						
1,313	140	91,972	352 7 6	1,162 3 2 70 40 — 41 6 3 89 4 —	185,709 10 11 13,981 12 6 2,053 14 3 12,396 19 —			
1,313	140	92,472	352 7 6	1,363 3 5	214,141 16 8			
ISLANDS.								
2,011		287,577	6,56x 2 6	2,313 18 5	164,128 17 6			
		1,500		6 4 -	1,499 9 -			
			90 — —	10 11 —	100 11 -			
2,011		289,077	6,651 2 6	2,340 18 5	166,959 12 6			
17,388	484	1,026,699	17,134 18 —	85,147 11 5	1,483,712 5 3			
,								

BOOK

IN furveying these islands collectively, the circumstance that first presents itself to notice is the burthen of the sour and half per centum on their exported produce, to which they are all subject equally with Barbadoes, and which, though granted by their own assemblies, was in most other cases, as well as the Virgin Islands, the price of a constitutional legislature, and a communication of the common privileges of British subjects.

It would without doubt be fatisfactory to the reader to be furnished with an account of the produce of this duty, and the particulars of its disposal; but no such information, to my knowledge, has of late years been given to the publick. The last return that I am possessed of, is dated fo long ago as the year 1735. From thence it appears, that the whole money collected on this account, both in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in twenty-one years, (from Chriftmas 1713 to Christmas 1734) amounted to f_{s} . 326,529. 2s. 3 $d_{\frac{\pi}{4}}$. fterling, of which it is shameful to relate that no more than f. 140,032. 13s. $5d\frac{1}{2}$ was paid into the British Exchequer; upwards of £.80,000 having been retained in the

the Islands for the charges of collecting, and CHAP. £. 105,000 more, expended in Great Britain in the payment of freight, duties, commissions, fees of office, and other claims and deductions (k).

From the net money paid into the exchequer, the Governor General of these islands receives a falary of £. 1,200 fterling, exclusive of the feveral fums granted him by the colonial affemblies (1), and I believe that falaries are allowed from the fame fund to the Lieutenant. General, and the feveral Lieutenant Governors. I have been informed too, that the Governors of the Bahama and Bermudas islands are likewise paid out of this duty. The balance which remains, after these and some other deductions are made, is wholly at the king's disposal.

Bur it is impossible not to observe, that almost all the islands within this government, as well as Barbadoes, have been, for many years past, progressively on the decline; and it is therefore probable that the present net produce of this

(k) Some years after this, a new mode of collecting the duties was, I believe, adopted, which rendered the tax more productive to government.

(1) These grants are as follow: Antigua and St. Christopher's L. 1,000 currency each. Nevis L. 400. Montserrat £. 400. Virgin Islands £. 400. The usual rate of exchange is 165 per cent. These sums therefore, added to £. 1,200 sterling, paid out of the exchequer, make his whole salary £. 3,000 sterling per annum.

EOOK duty is not more than fufficient to defray the fee veral incumbrances with which it is loaded. The negroes indeed have been kept up, and even augmented, by purchase, because, as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expence of labour to make them any way productive; but as the returns have not increafed in the fame degree, nothing could have faved the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of fugar in the markets of Europe.

IT appears from authentick accounts laid before parliament, that the import of fugar into Great Britain from all the British West Indies (Jamaica excepted) has decreased, in the course of twenty years from 3,762,804 cwt.to 2,563,228 cwt. (m). The difference in value, at a medium price, cannot be less than £.400,000 sterling, and it will be found to have fallen chiefly on those islands which are subject to the duty in question; to the effects of which, therefore, the deficiency must be chiefly attributed : for being laid, not on the land, but on the produce of the land, it operates as a tax on industry, and a pehalty which falls heaviest on the man who contributes most to augment the wealth, commerce, navigation, and revenues of the mother-country. It is considered by the planters as equal to ten

⁽m) Being the average of two periods, the first from 1772 to 1775, the fecond from 1788 to 1792.

per cent. on the net produce of their estates for CHAP. ever. Under fuch a burthen, which while it oppresses the colonies, yields a profit of no great confideration to the crown, they have been unable to stand a competition with the British planters in the other islands, and have been depressed still more by the rapid growth and extensive opulence of the French colonies in their neighbourhood. Thus a check has been given to the spirit of improvement, and much of that land, which, though somewhat impoverished by long cultivation, would ftill, with the aid of manure, contribute greatly to the general returns, is abandoned, because the produce of the poorest foil is taxed as high as that of the most fertile.

To the loss arising from a decrease of produce, accompanied with an increase of contingent expences, must be added the ruinous effects of capture in the late American war. The damages fustained in St. Christopher's alone, by De Grasse's invasion in 1782, from the destruction of negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes, were estimated at f. 160,000 sterling, which sum was made up to the fufferers by a poll-tax on the flaves, of no less than forty shillings. The annual taxes for defraying the current charges of their internal governments, in all the islands, are also exceedingly burthensome; besides parish

taxes

BOOK taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the elergy, and the relief of the poor.

But, under all these and the other discouragements which are felt by the proprietors, the wealth which still flows from these little dependencies into the mother-country, must fill every reflecting mind with furprise and admiration. An extent of cultivated territory, not equal to one-tenth part of the county of Effex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumstance that demonstrates beyond all abstract reasoning, the vast importance to Great Britain of having fugar islands of her own. At the fame time, it is both amufing and instructive to consider how little the present returns from these islands are answerable to the hopes and expectations of their first European possessions; or rather it affords an animated illustration of the wisdom of Providence, which frequently renders the follies and weakneffes of man productive of good. The first English adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain, fimilar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico into Spain. The nation was told of countries where the mountains were composed of diamonds, and the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Cabot, Frobisher, and Gil-

bert,

bert, and it is a lamentable display of the power CHAP. of avarice on the human mind, to behold the fagacious and learned Raleigh bewildered in the fame folly! Experience has at length corrected this frenzy, and Europe is now wife enough to acknowledge that gold and filver have only an artificial and relative value; that industry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great fources of national prosperity.

THE produce of these islands however, though of fuch value to the mother-country, is raifed at an expence to the cultivator, which perhaps is not equalled in any other purfuit, in any country of the globe. It is an expence too, that is permanent and certain; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other; owing to calamities, to which these countries are exposed, both from the hands of God and man; and it is mournful to add, that the felfish or mistaken policy of man is fometimes more destructive than even the anger of Omnipotence!

AT the time that I write this, (1791) the humanity of the British nation is tremblingly alive to the real or fictitious distresses of the African labourers in these and the other islands of the West Indies: and the holders and employers of those people feem to be marked out to the publick indignation for proscription and ruin. So ftrong and universal a sympathy allows no room for the fober exercise of reason, or it Vol. I. LI would

BOOK would be remembered, that the condition of that unfortunate race, must depend greatly on the condition and circumstances of their owners. Oppression towards the principal, will be felt with double force by his dependants, and the blow that wounds the mafter, will exterminate the flave.

THE propriety of these remarks will be seen in fubfequent parts of my work, when I come in course to treat of the flave trade and flavery; and to confider the commercial fystem of Great Britain towards her West Indian dependencies, of which I have now completed the catalogue. Here then I might close the third book of my history; but it has probably occurred to the reader, that I have omitted the two governments of Bahama and Bermudas (n); to which indeed it was my intention, when I began my work, to appropriate a distinct chapter. An examination of my materials has induced me to alter my purpose; finding myself possessed of scarce any memorials concerning the civil history of those islands, that are not given in the numerous geographical treatifes with which the shelves of the bookfellers are loaded. Of the present state of the Bahama islands, I need not be ashamed to

acknowledge

⁽n) I have also passed over unnoticed the small islands of Anguilla and Barbuda, as being of too little importance to merit particular description. The former belongs to the Leeward Island government; the latter is the private property of the Codrington family.

acknowledge my ignorance, inasmuch as even CHAP. the lords of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations, were unable to obtain fatisfactory information concerning it. their lordships enquiries, in 1789, as to the extent of territory in those islands,—the quantity of land in cultivation,—the number of white inhabitants,-productions and exports, &c. the only answer that could be obtained from the Governor was this, that it was at that time imposfible to ascertain any of those particulars. It appears, however, from the testimony of other perfons, that these islands in general are rocky and barren; that the only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the medium export is fifteen hundred bags of two cwt.; that the inhabitants (who in 1773 confifted of two thoufand and fifty-two whites, and two thousand two hundred and forty-one blacks) have been of late years confiderably augmented by emigrants from North America; but of their present numbers, no precise account is given (o).

(o) The Bahama Islands, comprehending those which, either from their smallness, the barrenness of the soil, or the want of water, are uninhabited, are some hundreds in number. They are situated between the 22d and 23d degrees of north latitude. The principal of them are Providence (twenty-seven miles long and eleven broad), Bahama, Abaco, Harbour Island, Eluthera, Exuma, St. Salvadore, Long Island, Andros, Bimini, &c. The seat of government is at the town of Nasfau in Providence. Vid. vol. i. p. 7.

L1 2

CONCERN-

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CONCERNING Bermudas, Governor Brown is more explicit. From his answers to their Lordships' queries, it appears that they contain from twelve to thirteen thousand acres of very poor land, of which nine parts in ten are either uncultivated, or referved in woods for the fupplying of timber for building small ships, sloops, and shallops for fale; this being in truth the principal occupation and employment of the inhabitants; and the veffels which they furnish, being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpensive.

Or the land in cultivation, no part was appropriated to any other purpose than that of raising Indian corn, and esculent roots and vegetables (of which a confiderable fupply is fent to the West Indian Islands) until the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no great fuccess, there not being at present more than two hundred acres applied in this line of culture.

THE number of white people of all ages in Bermudas is five thousand four hundred and fixty-two; of blacks four thousand nine hun-'dred and nineteen (p).

THUS

⁽p) It were an act of great injustice to the inhabitants of Bermudas, to omit the very honourable testimony which Governor Brown has transmitted to government, concerning the treatment of their negro flaves. " Nothing (he obferves) can better fhew the state of slavery in Bermudas than the

THUS it appears that the lands become less CHAP. fertile as we recede from the tropicks, and were there not, as there certainly is, an unaccountable propenfity in the greater part of mankind, to under-rate what they have in actual possession, it would require but little effort to convince the publick of the vast importance of our West Indian dependencies; of which the progressive growth has now been traced from the first settlement. What remains is to convey that conviction to the English reader. This then, after taking a cursory survey, for the gratification of curiofity, of the prefent inhabitants and the fyftem of agriculture, I shall endeavour to accomplish in the next volume.

the behaviour of the blacks in the late war. There were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were partly manned by negro flaves, who behaved both as failors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned, if it was in their power. There were feveral instances wherein they had been condemned with the vessel and fold, and afterwards found means to escape; and through many difficulties and hardships returned to their masters service. In the ship Regulator, a privateer, there were feventy flaves. She was taken and carried into Boston. Sixty of them returned in a slag of truce directly to Bermudas. Nine others returned by the way of New York. One only was missing, who died in the cruize, or in captivity."

Report of the Privy Council on the Slave Trade. Part III.

L1 3

APPENDIX

Since the Publication of the former Editions of this Work, the

An ACCOUNT of the Duty of Four and an Half per Centum, arifing and 1796; with the Amount of the Charges and Payments to which it Receiver General of the Customs.

	Gross Receipt	Receipt			Charges paid
Years.	Husband arising from Produce configned to	in the Plantations in lieu of	Total	Duties, Freight,	Annuities.
parameter parame	him.	Produçe.		&c. &c.	
1794	£. s. d. 70,230 1 2	~	~	£. s. d. 27,979 8 9	~
1795	62,800 6 —	6,921 16 4	69,722 2 4	18,956 18 4	6,200 — —
1796	57,665 1 9	14,907 12 8	72,572 14 5	17,010 15 3	4,500 —
Total	190,695 8 11	29,309 9 914	220,004 18 84	63,947 2 4	12,286 — 1

Note. — The Difference between the Net Proceeds and the Payments arises either from Indies not having been paid within the Year, as

Custom House, London, 17th March 1798.

VO L. I. Nº 1.

following Paper has been laid before the House of Commons.

in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in America, for the Years 1794, 1795, is liable, the Net Proceeds thereof, with the Payments into the Exchequer by the

	by the Hufban	d.	•	·		
/	Salaries to Plantation Officers.	Charges of Management in the Plantations.	Payments by Receiver General.	Total of Charges.	Net Proceeds.	Payments by Receiver General into the Exchequer.
	£. s. d.	~	£. 380	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d. $43,881 ext{ 15} ext{ } 4\frac{1}{2}$
	1,786 16 7		-	36,579 9 9 31,942 17 10½	41,130 12 $2\frac{1}{4}$ 37,779 4 $5\frac{1}{2}$	
	899 3 1	4,747 1 434	380	27,536 19 83	45,035 14 84	39,032 8 11/2
	4,478 15 6	14,207 9 54	τ,140	96,059 7 4 ¹ / ₄	123,945 11 4	117,090 7 43

Monies having been remitted due on former Years, or from Eills remitted from the West was particularly the Cafe in the Year 1796.

J. Mills, for the Rec* General.

Thos Porter,
pro Comptr Gen!.

Jas Newey,
Inspector and Examt of Planth Coll's Acces.

Wm Lawless,
Acting Husband of the Duty of 4th per Cent.

P. Gregory, Comptr of Do.

An ACCOUNT of the feveral Charges upon the Fund, arising by the Duties of Four Pounds and One Half Pound per Centum during the Years 1794, 1795, and 1796, paid at the Exchequer.

SALARIES and PENSIONS paid at the Exchequer.	1794-	I 795.	1796.
Governors of Barbadoes Bahama Islands Bermuda Leeward Islands Grenada Dominica Dominica	£. s. d. 2,000 — — 700 — — 750 — — 1,200 — — 1,364 — — 1,300 — —	£. s. d. 2,000 — — 700 — — 750 — — 1,200 — — 1,364 — —	£. s. d. 2,000 — 700 — 750 — 1,300 — 1,500 — 1,364 —
St. Vincent's Lieut. Governors of Leeward Islands Tortola	300 — —	1,300 — —	1,300 — —
Antigua Nevis Montferrat St. Kitts Grenada	200 — — 200 — — 300 — — 200 — — 600 — —	200 —	200 — — 200 — — 300 — — 200 — — 200 — —
Dominica	200 — —	400 — —	400 — —
Auditor General of Plantations Chief Justice of Virgin Islands	250 — —	250 — —	100 — — 250 — —
Governor of the Bahama Islands to make up the Deficiencies of	328 4 1	200	200
his Fees at £. 500 per Annum - S Governor of Barbadoes for his Ser- vices	1,500	244 17 10	208 8 6
Governor of Martinico for his Outfit Do his Salary		1,500 — — 1,922 4 5½	1,977 15 63
Countess Dowager of Chatham, John Earl of Chatham, and the Right Honourable William Pitt, during their Lives, severally and successively	3,000 — —	3,000 — —	3,000 —
Representatives of the Earl of Kinnoul (Perpetuity)	1,000 — _	1,000 — —	1,000 — —
Carried forward - £.	18,892 4 1	20,731 2 31	19,250 4 3

(continued.)			
SALARIES and PENSIONS paid at the Exchequer.	1794.	1795.	1796.
Brought forward - L.	£. s. d. 18,892 4 1	£. s. d. 20,731 2 3½	£. s. d. 19,250 4 - 3
Henry Strachey, Esq. late Secretary to the Commission for restoring Peace in North America, during Life	587 — —	587 — —	587 — —
Henry Ellis, Efq. late Governor of Georgia and Nova Scotia, dur- ing Pleasure	300 — —	. 300 — —	300
Mary Elliott, Widow of Grey El- liott, Esq. late additional Clerk in Ordinary of the Office of Trade and Foreign Plantations	100 — —	100 — —	100
Sufannah Monckton, Widow of the late Genl Monckton - Do	100 — —	100	100
Peter Livius, Efq: formerly Chief Justice of Canada S	750 — —	222 5 101	Ceafed.
Martin Mary Martin Sarah Martin Alice Martin Mary Bellever	50	150 — — 50 — — 50 — — 50 — —	150 — — 50 — — 50 — —
Henry Pelham, Efq. late a Com- miffioner of Cuftoms S	761	761 — —	761 — —
Fredefwed Savory George Bru-	. 40	40 — —	40
Charlotte Todd - yere, Esq.	30	30	30 — —
Frances Tucker - Bermuda. J	30	30 — —	30
James Craufurd, Esq. late Governor of Bermuda Islands	-		407 10 -
Henry Charles Selwyn, Esq. Lieutt Gov. of Montferrat			100
	21,890 4 1	23,201 8 2	22,005 14 $-\frac{3}{4}$

Memorandum.—On the 24th Day of February 1796, the Sum of £. 40,000 was directed to be iffued out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. towards defraying the Charges and Expences of His Majesty's Civil Government.

George Rose.

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall, 27th April 1798.

APPENDIX to Vol. I.

Nº 2.

Observations on the Disposition, Character, Manners, and Habits of Life, of the MAROON NEGROES of the Island of JAMAICA; and a Detail of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the late War between those People and the White Inhabitants: first published separately in 1796.

SECTION I.

APPEN-DIX.

TAMAICA, as we have feen, was conquered from the Spaniards, during the protectorate of Cromwell, in the year 1655, by an armament under the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables. The Spanish inhabitants are faid to have possessed, before the attack, about 1,500 enflaved Africans, most of whom, on the furrender of their masters, retreated to the mountains, from whence they made frequent excursions to harass the English. Major-general Sedgewick, one of the British officers, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (1656) predicts, that thefe blacks would prove a thorn in the fides of the English. He adds, that they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found opportunity; scarce a week paffing without their murdering one or more of them; and as the foldiers became more confident and careless, the negroes grew more enterprising and bloodyminded.

APPEN-

minded. "Having no moral fense," continues he, " and " not understanding what the laws and customs of civil at nations mean, we know not how to capitulate or treat with any of them. But be affured they must either be " destroyed, or brought in, upon some terms or other; or " else they will prove a great discouragement to the set-"tling the country." What he foretold, foon came to pass. At the latter part of the same year (1656) the army gained fome trifling fuccefs against them; but this was immediately afterwards feverely retaliated by the flaughter of forty foldiers, cut off as they were carelessly rambling from their quarters. A detachment was immediately fent in pursuit of the enemy, which came up with and killed feven or eight of them; but they still found means to hold out, until being hard pressed the year following by Colonel D'Oyley, who, by his final overthrow of the Spaniards, had taken from them all hope of future fuccour from their ancient masters, they became very much streightened for want of provisions and ammunition. The main body, under the command of a negro named Juan de Bolas (whose place of retreat in the parish of Clarendon still retains his name) at length solicited for peace, and furrendered to the English on terms of pardon and freedom. A large party, however, (who had now acquired the name of Maroons*) remained in their re-

* The word fignifies, among the Spanish Americans, according to Mr. Long, Hog-bunters: the woods abounding with the wild hoar, and the pursuit of them constituting the chief employment of fugitive negroes. Marráno is the Spanish word for a young pig. The following is the derivation, however, given in the Encyclopédie, article Maron: "On appelle marons, dans les isles Françoises les nègres fugitifs. Ce terme vient du mot Espagnol Simaran qui signifie un Singe. Les Espagnols crurent ne devoir pas faire plus d'honneur à leurs maiheureux esclaves sugitifs, que de les appeller singes, parcequ'ils se retiroient comme ces animaux aux fonds des bois et n'en sortoient que pour cueillir des fruits qui se trouvoient dans les lieux les plus voisins de leur retrait." The reader will accept which of these derivations he likes best.

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APPEN- treats within the mountains; where they not only augmented their numbers by natural increase, but, after the island became thicker sown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive flaves. At length they grew confident enough of their force to undertake descents upon the interior planters, many of whom they murdered, from time to time, without the least provocation; and by their barbarities and outrages intimidated the whites from venturing to any confiderable distance from the sea coast.

> In 1663 the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Lyttelton, and his council, iffued a proclamation, offering a full pardon, twenty acres of land, and freedom from all manner of flavery, to each of them who should surrender. But I do not find that any of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, or quit their favage way of life. On the contrary, they were better pleafed with the more ample range they possessed in the woods, where their hunting grounds were not yet encroached upon by fettlements. They took effectual care, indeed, that no fettlement should be established near them; for they butchered every white family that ventured to feat itself any confiderable diffance inland. When the Governor perceived that the proclamation wrought no effect, Juan de Bolas, who was now made Colonel of the Black Regiment, was fent to endeavour their reduction; but in the profecution of this fervice he fell into an ambuscade, and was cut to pieces. In March, 1664, Captain Colbeck, of the white militia, was employed for the same purpose. He went by fea to the north fide; and, having gained fome advantages over the Maroons, he returned with one who pretended to treat for the rest. This embassy, however, was only calculated to amuse the whites, and gain some respite; for the Maroons no fooner found themselves in a condition to act, and the white inhabitants lulled into fecurity, than they began to renew hostilities, murdering, as before, every

white person, without distinction of sex or age, who came within their reach.

APPEN-DIX.

In this way, they continued to diffress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of Affembly were passed, and at least £.240,000 expended for their suppression. In 1730, they were grown so formidable, under a very able general, named Cudjoe, that it was found expedient to ftrengthen the colony against them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, in their reduction. In the year 1734, Captain Stoddart, who commanded one of these parties, projected, and executed with great fuccess, an attack of the Maroon windward town, called Nanny, fituate on one of the highest mountains in the ifland. Having provided some portable swivel guns, he filently approached, and reached within a fmall distance of their quarters undiscovered. After halting, for fome time, he began to ascend by the only path leading to their town. He found it steep, rocky, and difficult, and not wide enough to admit the passage of two persons abreast. However, he surmounted these obstacles; and having gained a fmall eminence, commanding the huts in which the negroes were afleep, he fixed his little train of artillery to the best advantage, and fired upon them fo briskly, that many were slain in their habitations, and feveral threw themselves headlong down the precipice. Captain Stoddart pursued the advantage; killed numbers, took many prisoners, and in short so completely destroyed, or routed the whole body, that they were unable afterwards to effect any enterprize of moment in this quarter of the island.

ABOUT the same time another party of the Maroons, having perceived that a body of the militia stationed at the barrack of Bagnel's thicket, in St. Mary's parish, under

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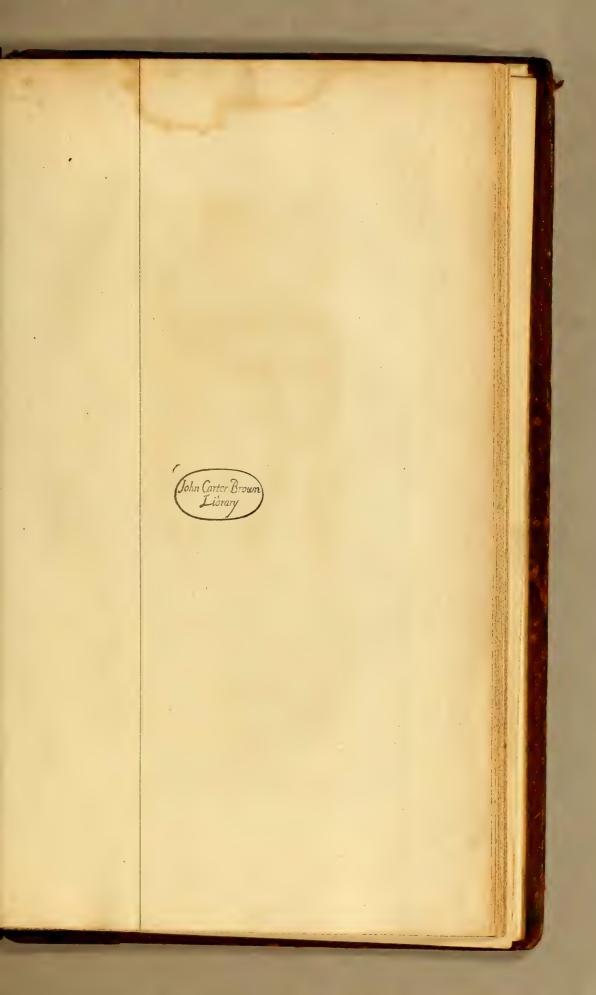
APPEN- the command of Colonel Charlton, strayed heedlessly from their quarters, and kept no order, formed a project to cut them off, and whilft the officers were at dinner, attended by a very fewoof their men, the Maroons rushed suddenly from the adjacent woods and attacked them. Several pieces were discharged, the report of which alarmed the militia, who immediately ran to their arms, and came up in time to rescue their officers from destruction. The Maroons were repulfed, and forced to take shelter in the woods, but the militia did not think fit to purfue them. Some rumours of this skirmish reached Spanish Town, which is diffant from the spot about thirty miles; and, as all the circumstances were not known, the inhabitants were thrown into the most dreadful alarm, from apprehenfions that the Maroons had defeated Charlton, and were in full march to attack the town. Ayscough, then commander in chief, participating in the general panick, ordered the trumpets to found, the drums to beat, and in a few hours collected a body of horse and foot, who went to meet the enemy. On the fecond day after their departure, they came to a place where, by the fires which remained unextinguished, they supposed the Maroons had lodged the preceding night. They therefore followed the track, and foon after got fight of them. Captain Edmunds, who commanded the detachment, disposed his men for action; but the Maroons declined engaging, and fled different ways. Several of them, however, were flain in the purfuit, and others made prisoners. These two victories reduced their strength, and filled them with fo much terror that they never afterwards appeared in any confiderable body, nor dared to make any stand; indeed, from the commencement of the war till this period, they had not once ventured a pitched battle, but skulked about the skirts of remote plantations, furprifing stragglers, and murdering the whites by two or three at a time, or when they were

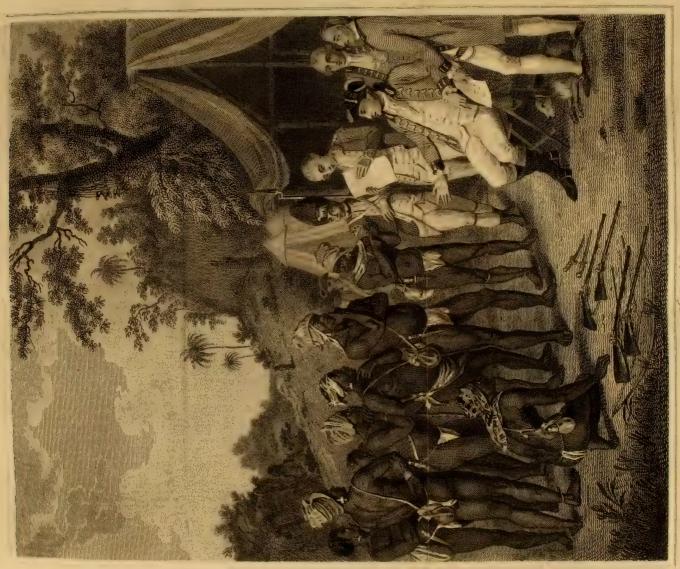
APPEN-

too few to make any refiftance. By night they feized the favourable opportunity that darkness gave them, of stealing into the settlements, where they set fire to canefields and out-houses, killed all the cattle they could find, and carried the flaves into captivity. By this daftardly method of conducting the war, they did infinite mischief to the whites, without much exposing their own persons to danger, for they always cautiously avoided fighting, except with a number fo disproportionally inferior to themfelves, as to afford them a pretty fure expectation of victory. They knew every fecret avenue of the country; fo that they could either conceal themselves from pursuit, or shift their ravages from place to place, as circumstances required. Such were the many disadvantages under which the English had to deal with those desultory foes; who were not reducible by any regular plan of attack; who possessed no plunder to allure or reward the affailants; nor had any thing to lofe, except life, and a wild and favage freedom.

PREVIOUS to the fuccesses above mentioned, the diftress into which the planters were thrown, may be collected from the sense which the legislature of Jamaica expressed in some of their acts. In the year 1733, they set forth, that "the Maroons had, within a few years, greatly increased, notwithstanding all the measures that had been concerted, and made use of, for their suppression; in par-0 ticular, that they had grown very formidable in the North East, North West, and South Western districts of the island, to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects in those parts, who had greatly suffered by the frequent robberies, murders, and depredations committed by them; that in the parishes of Clarendon, St. Ann, St. Elizabeth, Westmorland, Hanover, and St. James's, they were confiderably multiplied, and had large fettlements among the mountains, and least accessible parts; whence they plundered

APPEN- dered all around them, and caused several plantations to be thrown up and abandoned, and prevented many valuable tracts of land from being cultivated, to the great prejudice and diminution of his Majesty's revenue, as well as of the trade, navigation, and confumption of British manufactures; and to the manifest weakening, and preventing the further increase of the strength and inhabitants, in the island." We may learn from hence, what extensive mischief may be perpetrated by the most despicable and cowardly enemy. The Affembly, perceiving that the employment of flying parties had proved ineffectual, by the length of their marches, the difficulty of sublifting them in the woods for fo long a time as the service required, and the facility with which the Maroons eluded their pursuit, ordered several defensible houses, or barracks, fortified with bastions, to be erected in different parts, as near as possible to the enemy's most favourite haunts: in each of these they placed a strong garrison, and roads of communication were opened from one to the other. These garrisons were composed of white and black shot and baggage negroes, who were all duly trained. Every captain was allowed a pay of ten pounds, the lieutenants each five pounds, and ferjeants four pounds, and privates two pounds per month. They were fubjected to the rules and articles of war; and Othe whole body put under the Governor's immediate order, to be employed, conjunctly or feparately, as he should fee occasion. Their general plan of duty, as directed by the law, was to make excursions from the barracks, scower the woods and mountains, and destroy the provision gardens and haunts of the Maroons; and that they might not return without effecting some service, they were required to take twenty days provision with them on every fuch expedition. Every barrack was also furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the Churchwardens of the respective





PACIFICATION with the MAROON NEGROES

respective parishes; it being foreseen that these animals would prove extremely ferviceable, not only in guarding against surprizes in the night, but in tracking the enemy.

APPEN-DIX.

This arrangement was the most judicious hitherto contrived for their effectual reduction; for fo many fortreffes, stationed in the very centre of their usual retreats, well supplied with every necessary, gave the Maroons a constant and vigorous annoyance, and in short became the chief means of bringing on that treaty which afterwards put an end to this tiresome war.

ABOUT the year 1737, the Affembly refolved on taking two hundred of the Mosquito Indians into their pay, to hasten the suppression of the Maroons. They passed an act for rendering free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians more useful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragements. Some floops were dispatched to the Mosquito shore; and that number of Indians was brought into the island, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty shillings a month for pay, befides shoes and other articles. White guides were asfigned to conduct them to the enemy, and they gave proofs of great fagacity in this fervice. It was their practice to observe the most profound silence in marching to the enemy's quarters; and when they had once hit upon a track, they were fure to discover the haunt to which it led. They effected confiderable fervice, and were, indeed, the most proper troops to be employed in that species of action, which is known in America by the name of bush-fighting. They were well rewarded for their good conduct, and afterwards dismissed to their own country, when the pacification took place with the Maroons.

For in 1738, Governor Trelawney, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the island, proposed overtures of peace with the Maroon chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious conflict. The · Vol. I.

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APPEN- The white inhabitants wished relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardship of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining the army. The Maroons were not less anxious for an accommodation: they were hemmed in, and closely befet on all fides; their provisions destroyed, and themselves reduced to so miserable a condition, by famine and incessant attacks, that Cudjoe afterwards declared, that if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be starved, lay violent hands on themselves, or surrender to the English at discretion. The extremity of their case, however, was not at that time known to the white inhabitants, and their number was supposed to be twice as great as it was afterwards found to be. The articles of pacification (which I have subjoined) were therefore ratified with the Maroon chiefs, and fifteen hundred acres of land affigned to one body of them*, and one thousand acres to another, which the legislature fecured to them and their posterity in perpetuity. The Assembly, by subsequent laws, augmented the premium allowed the Maroons for apprehending fugitive slaves, to three pounds per head; and they passed many other regulations for their better government and protection, for preventing their purchasing and harbouring negro flaves, and for directing in what manner they should be tried in the case of felony, and other crimes, committed against the whites +, and thus an end was at

^{*} This was the body that fettled in Trelawney Town, and are the ancestors of those who have lately taken up arms. The other Maroon negroes were those of Accompany Town, Crawford Town, and Nanny Town, to each of which lands were allotted. The aggregate number in 1795, was about 1600 men women and children.

⁺ On complaint made, on oath, to a justice of peace, of any felony, burglary, robbery, or other offence whatfoever, having been committed by Maroon negroes, he is required to grant a warrant to apprehend the offenders,

length happily put to this tedious and ruinous contest; a contest which, while it lasted, seemed to portend nothing less than the ruin of the whole colony.

APPEN-DIX.

Articles of pacification with the Marcons of Trelawney Town, concluded March the first, 1738.

In the name of God, Amen, Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Accompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and feveral other Negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a ftate of war and hostility, for feveral years past, against our sovereign lord the King, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood, is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man; and whereas his Majesty, King George the Second, King of Great Bri-

offenders, and to have all persons brought before him, or some other justice, that can give evidence; and if, upon examination, it appears that there are grounds for publick trial, the justice is to commit the accused, unless the offence be bailable, and bind over the witnesses. They are to be tried where the quarter fessions are held, or where parochial business is usually transacted, in the following manner: - The justice is to call in two other justices (who must attend, or forseit twenty pounds each), and they are to fummon fifteen persons, such as are usually impanelled to serve on juries, to appear at a specified time, who forfeit five pounds each if they neglect. There must be ten days between the complaint and the trial. Of the fifteen persons summoned, the first twelve who appear are to compose a jury. If, the Maroon be found guilty, the justices may give sentence, according to law, of death, transportation, publick whipping, or confinement to hard labour for not more than twelve months. Execution of women with child is to be respited until a reasonable time after delivery; and where fentence of death or transportation shall be passed (except for rebellious conspiracies,) execution is to be respited until the Governor's pleasure be fignified; the justices may also respite the execution of any other sentence till his pleasure be known, if they see cause. Where several are capitally convicted for the same offence, one only is to suffer death, except for murder or rebellion.

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APPEN-DIX. tain, France and Ireland, of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has, by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, Esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid Captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, fincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles: First, That all hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever. Secondly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within two years last past, if fuch are willing to return to their faid mafters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their faid mafters or owners for what is past; provided always, that, if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendship with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty. Thirdly, That they shall enjoy and possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands fituate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing northwest from the faid Trelawney Town. Fourthly, That they shall have liberty to plant the faid lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the faid commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the faid commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a license to vend the same. Fifthly, That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's ad-

APPEN-

herents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit; except within three miles of any fettlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of Captain Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties. Sixthly, That the faid Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that fervice by his excellency the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, all rebels wherefoever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his fucceffors. Seventhly, That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the faid Captain Cudjoe, and his fuccessors hereinafter named or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the faid invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the Commander in Chief on that occasion. Eighthly, That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to Captain Cudjoe, his fucceffors, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; and in case Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offenders to justice. Ninthly, That if any negro shall hereafter run away from their mafters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands, they shall immediately be fent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken; and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint *. Tenth,

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That

^{*} The Assembly granted a premium of thirty shillings for each fugitive save returned to his owner by the Maroons, besides expences.

APPEN- That all negroes taken, fince the raifing of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned. Eleventh, That Captain Cudjoe, and his fucceffors, shall wait on his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required, Twelfth, That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captains succeeding him, shall have full power to inslict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted; in which case, if the Captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of other free negroes. Thirteenth, That Captain Cudjoe, with his people, shall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Westmorland and St. James's, and if possible to St. Elizabeth's. Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with Captain Cudjoe and his fucceffors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island. Fifteenth, That Captain Cudjoe shall, during his life, be Chief Commander in Trelawney Town; after his decease the command to devolve on his brother Captain Accompong; and in case of his decease, on his next brother Captain Johnny; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee shall succeed; who is to be succeeded by Captain Quaco; and after all their demises, the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, shall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

In testimony, &c. &c.

SECTION II.

THE preceding Section confifts chiefly of an extract APPENfrom the History of Jamaica, by EDWARD LONG, Esq. published in 1774, whose account I have chosen to adopt, rather than offer a narrative of my own, for two reasons; first, because I have nothing to add, concerning the origin of the Maroons, to what Mr. Long has fo distinctly related; and, secondly, because its adoption exempts me from all suspicion of having fabricated a tale, calculated to justify certain circumstances and transactions, of which complaint was lately made in the British Parliament*, and to which due attention shall hereafter be paid. In the meanwhile, I shall take up and continue the subject where Mr. Long left it, beginning with some reflections on the situation, character, manners and habits of life of the Maroon negroes; and thus tracing the cause of their late revolt to its origin.

THE clause in the treaty, by which these people were compelled to refide within certain boundaries in the interior country, apart from all other negroes, was founded, probably, on the apprehension that, by suffering them to intermix with the negroes in flavery, the example which they would thereby continually present of successful hostility, might prove contagious, and create in the minds of the flaves an impatience of fubordination, and a disposition for revolt: but time has abundantly proved that it was an

March 1796.

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DIX.

APPEN- ill-judged and a fatal regulation. The Maroons, instead of being established into separate hordes or communities, in the strongest parts of the interior country, should have been encouraged by all possible means to frequent the towns and to intermix with the negroes at large. All distinction between the Maroons and the other free blacks would foon have been loft; for the greater number would have prevailed over the less: whereas the policy of keeping them a distinct people, continually inured to arms, introduced among them what the French call an esprit de corps, or a community of sentiments and interests; and concealing from them the powers and resources of the whites, taught them to feel, and at the same time highly to overvalue, their own relative ftrength and importance.

IT has been urged against the colonial legislature, as another, and a still greater, overlight, that after the conclusion of the treaty, no manner of attention was given to the improvement of these ignorant people in civilization and morals. The office of Superintendant, it has been faid, and I believe truly, was commonly bestowed on perfons of no education or consequence, and soon became a mere finecure. Mr. Long observed, many years ago, that the Maroons would probably prove more faithful allies, and better subjects, if pains were taken to instil into their minds a few notions of honesty and religion; and the establishment of schools, and the erection of a chapel in each of the towns, were recommended as measures of indispenfible necessity.

THAT these observations are altogether ill founded, I will not presume to affirm. Man, in his savage state, in all parts of the world, is the flave of superstition; and it is the duty and policy of a good government (let its fystem of religion be what it may) to direct the weaknesses of our

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fellow creatures to the promotion of their happiness. The APPEN-Christian is not only the best system of religion calculated for the attainment of that end, but, by leading the mind to the knowledge of truth and immortality, contributes more than any other to amend the heart, and exalt the human character.

OF this high and important truth I hope that I am fully fenfible: Yet I cannot suppress the opinion which I have long fince entertained, that the conversion of favage men, from a life of barbarity to the knowledge and practice of Christianity, is a work of much greater difficulty than many pious and excellent persons in Great Britain seem fondly to imagine.

Concerning the Maroons, they are in general ignorant of our language, and all of them attached to the gloomy superstitions of Africa (derived from their anceltors) with fuch enthufiastick zeal and reverential ardour, as I think can only be eradicated with their lives. The Gentoos of India are not, I conceive, more fincere in their faith, than the negroes of Guinea in believing the prevalence of Obi*, and the supernatural power of their Obeah men. Obstacles like these, accompanied with the fierce and fordid manners which I shall presently describe, few clergymen would, I think, be pleafed to encounter, left they might experience all the fufferings, without acquiring the glory of martyrdom.

UNDER disadvantages of such magnitude was founded the first legal establishment of our Maroon allies in Jamaica. Inured, for a long feries of years, to a life of warfare within the island, it is a matter of astonishment that they submitted, for any length of time, to any system of subordination or government whatever. It is probable

* A species of pretended magick, described at large in Vol. ii. Book 4. \$ 30

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APPEN.

they were chiefly induced to remain quiet by the great encouragement that was held out to them for the apprehending fugitive flaves, and being allowed to range over the uncultivated country without interruption, possessing an immense wilderness for their hunting grounds. These pursuits gave full employment to the restless and turbulent among them. Their game was the wild boar, which abounds in the interior parts of Jamaica; and the Maroons had a method of curing the flesh without falting it, This commodity they frequently brought to market in the towns; and, with the money arising from the fale, and the rewards which they received for the delivery to their owners of runaway flaves, they purchased salted beef, spirituous liquors, tobacco, fire-arms, and ammunition, fetting little or no account on clothing of any kind, and regarding as superstuous and useless most of those things which every people in the lowest degree of civilization, would confider as almost absolutely necesfary to human existence.

THEIR language was a barbarous diffonance of the African dialects, with a mixture of Spanish and broken English; and their thoughts and attention seemed wholly engrossed by their present pursuits, and the objects immediately around them, without any reslections on the past, or solicitude for the future. In common with all the nations of Africa, they believed, however, as I have observed, in the prevalence of Obi, and the authority which such of their old men as had the reputation of wizards, or Obeah-men, possessed over them, was sometimes very successfully employed in keeping them in subordination to their chiefs.

HAVING, in the refources that have been mentioned, the means of procuring food for their daily support, they had no inclination for the pursuits of sober industry. Their repugnance

DIX.

repugnance to the labour of tilling the earth was remark- APPENable. In some of their villages I never could perceive any vestige of culture; but the situation of their towns, in fuch cases, was generally in the neighbourhood of plantations belonging to the whites, from the provisiongrounds of which they either purchased, or stole, yams, plantains, corn, and other esculents. When they had no fupply of this kind, I have fometimes observed small patches of Indian corn and yams, and perhaps a few straggling plantain trees, near their habitations; but the ground was always in a shocking state of neglect and ruin.

THE labours of the field, however, fuch as they were (as well as every other species of drudgery) were performed by the women, who had no other means of clearing the ground of the vast and heavy woods with which it is every where incumbered, than by placing fire round the trunks of the trees, till they were confumed in the middle, and fell by their own weight. It was a fervice of danger; but the Maroons, like all other favage nations, regarded their wives as fo many beafts of burthen; and felt no more concern at the loss of one of them, than a white planter would have felt at the loss of a bullock, Polygamy too, with their other African customs, prevailed among the Maroons univerfally. Some of their principal men claimed from two to fix wives, and the miseries of their fituation left these poor creatures neither leifure nor inclination to quarrel with each other.

THIS spirit of brutality, which the Maroons always difplayed towards their wives, extended in some degree to their children. The paternal authority was at all times most harshly exerted; but more especially towards the females. I have been affured, that it was not an uncommon circumstance for a father, in a fit of rage or drun-

kenness.

DIX.

APPEN- kenness, to seize his own infant, which had offended him by crying, and dash it against a rock, with a degree of violence that often proved fatal. This he did without any apprehension of punishment; for the superintendant, on fuch occasions, generally found it prudent to keep his distance, or be filent. Nothing can more strikingly demonstrate the forlorn and abject condition of the young women among the Maroons, than the circumstance which every gentleman, who has visited them on festive occafions, or for the gratification of curiofity, knows to be true; the offering their own daughters, by the first men among them, to their vifitors; and bringing the poor girls forward, with or without their confent, for the purpole of prostitution.

VISITS of this kind were indeed but too acceptable both to the Maroons and their daughters; for they generally ended in drunkenness and riot. The visitors too were not only fleeced of their money, but were likewife obliged to furnish the feast, it being indispensibly necessary, on fuch occasions, to send beforehand wine and provisions of all kinds; and if the guests expected to sleep on beds and in linen, they must provide those articles also for themselves. The Maroons, however, if the party confifted of persons of consequence, would consider themfelves as highly honoured, and would supply wild-boar, land-crabs, pigeons, and fish, and entertain their guests with a hearty and boifterous kind of hospitality, which had at least the charms of novelty and fingularity to recommend it.

On fuch occasions, a mock fight always constituted a part of the entertainment. Mr. Long has given the following description of a scene of this kind, which was exhibited by the Trelawney-Town Maroons, in the presence of the Governor, in 1764. "No sooner (he ob-

ferves)

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Terves) did the horn found the fignal, than they all joined in a most hideous yell, or war-hoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility they ran, or rather rolled, through their various firings and evolutions. This part of their exercise, indeed, more justly deserves to be stilled evolution than any that is practifed by the regular troops; for they fire stooping almost to the very ground; and no fooner are their muskets discharged, than they throw themfelves into a thousand antick gestures, and tumble over and over, fo as to be continually shifting their place; the intention of which is to elude the shot, as well as to deceive the aim of their adversaries, which their nimble and almost instantaneous change of position renders extremely uncertain. When this part of their exercise was over, they drew their fwords; and winding their horn again, began, in wild and warlike gestures, to advance towards his Excellency, endeavouring to throw as much favage fury into their looks as possible. On approaching near him, fome waved their rufty blades over his head, then gently laid them upon it; whilft others clashed their arms together in horrid concert. They next brought their muskets, and piled them up in heaps at his feet, &c. &c."

With all this feeming fury and affected bravery, however, I suspect that they are far below the whites in personal valour. Their mode of sighting in real war, is a system of stratagem, bush-sighting, and ambuscade. I will not, indeed, affirm that such a system alone, though it displays no proof of courage, is absolutely evidence to the contrary. I believe it is the natural mode of attack and defence, and that the practice of open war, among civilized nations, is artificial and acquired. It is rather from their abominable and habitual cruelty to their captives, and above all to women and children, and from the shocking enormities which they practise on the

APPEN- the dead bodies of their enemies, that I infer the deficiency of the Maroons, in the virtue of true courage. In their treatment of fugitive slaves, they manifest a blood-thirstiness of disposition, which is otherwise unaccountable; for, although their vigilance is stimulated by the prospect of reward, they can have no possible motives of revenge or malice towards the unfortunate objects of their pursuit: yet it is notoriously true, that they wish for nothing more than a pretence to put the poor wretches to death, frequently maining them without provocation; and, until mile-money was allowed by the legislature, oftentimes bringing home the head of the fugitive, inflead of the living man; making the plea of refistance an excufe for their barbarity.

In the year 1760, an occasion occurred of putting the courage, fidelity, and humanity of these people to the test. The Koromantyn flaves, in the parish of St. Mary, rose into rebellion, and the Maroons were called upon, according to treaty, to co-operate in their suppression. A party of them accordingly arrived at the scene of action, the fecond or third day after the rebellion had broken out. The whites had already defeated the infurgents, in a pitched battle, at Heywood-Hall, killed eight or nine of their number, and driven the remainder into the woods. The Maroons were ordered to purfue them, and were promifed a certain reward for each rebel they might kill or take prisoner. They accordingly pushed into the woods, and after rambling about for a day or two, returned with a collection of human ears, which they pretended to have cut off from the heads of rebels they had flain in battle, the particulars of which they minutely related. Their report was believed, and they received the money flipulated to be paid them; yet it was afterwards found that they had not killed a man; that no engagement had taken

place, and that the ears which they had produced, had been fevered from the dead Negroes which had lain unburied at Heywood-Hall.

Some few days after this, as the Maroons and a detachment of the 74th regiment, were stationed at a solitary place, furrounded by deep woods, called Downs's Cove, the detachment was fuddenly attacked in the middle of the night by the rebels. The centinels were shot, and the huts in which the foldiers were lodged, were fet on fire. The light of the flames, while it exposed the troops, ferved to conceal the rebels, who poured in a shower of musquetry from all quarters, and many of the foldiers were flain. Major Forfyth, who commanded the detachment, formed his men into a square, and by keeping up a brisk fire from all fides, at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the whole of this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and Forfyth, for some time, suspected that they were themselves the assailants. It was discovered, however that, immediately on the attack, the whole body of them had thrown themselves flat on the ground, and continued in that position until the rebels retreated, with-

A party of them, indeed, had afterwards the merit (a merit of which they loudly boasted) of killing the leader of the rebels. He was a young negro of the Koromantyn nation, named Tackey, and it was said had been of free condition, and even a chieftain, in Africa. This unfortunate man, having seen most of his companions slaughtered, was discovered wandering in the woods without arms or clothing, and was immediately pursued by the Maroons, in full cry. The chase was of no long duration; he was shot through the head; and, it is painful to relate, but unquestionably true, that his savage pursuers, having decollated the body, in order to preserve the head as the

trophy

out firing or receiving a shot.

APPEN-DIX.

APPEN- trophy of victory, roasted and actually devoured the heart and entrails of the wretched victim *!

> THE misconduct of these people in this rebellion, whether proceeding from cowardice or treachery, was, however, overlooked. Living secluded from the rest of the community, they were supposed to have no knowledge of the rules and restraints to which all other classes of the inhabitants were subject; and the vigilance of justice (notwithstanding what has recently happened) seldom pursued them, even for offences of the most atrocious nature.

> In truth, it always seemed to me, that the whites in general entertained an opinion of the usefulness of the Maroons, which no part of their conduct, at any one period, confirmed. - Possibly their personal appearance contributed, in some degree, to preserve the delufion; for, favage as they were in manners and disposition, their mode of living and daily pursuits undoubtedly strengthened the frame, and ferved to exalt them to great bodily perfection. Such fine perfons are feldom beheld among any other class of African or native blacks. Their demeanour is lofty, their walk firm, and their persons erect. Every motion displays a combination of strength and agility. The muscles (neither hidden nor depressed by clothing) are very prominent and Arongly marked. Their fight withal is wonderfully acute, and their hearing remarkably quick. These characteristicks, however, are common, I believe, to all savage

mations,

^{*} The circumstances that I have related concerning the conduct of the Maroons, in the rebellion of 1760, are partly founded on my own knowledge and perfonal observation at the time (having been myself present) or from the testimony of eye witnesses, men of character and probity. The shocking fact last mentioned was attested by several white people, and was not attempted to be denied or concealed by the Maroons themselves. They seemed indeed to make it the subject of boasting and triumph.

hations, in warm and temperate climates; and, like other APPENfavages, the Maroons have only those fenses perfect, which are kept in constant exercise. Their smell is obtuse, and their tafte fo depraved, that I have feen them drink new rum fresh from the still, in preference to wine which I offered them; and I remember, at a great festival in one of their towns, which I attended, that their highest luxury, in point of food, was some rotten beef, which had been originally falted in Ireland, and which was probably presented to them, by some person who knew their taste, because it was putrid.

Such was the fituation of the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, previous to their late revolt; and the picture which I have drawn of their character and manners, was delineated from the life, after long experience and observation. Of that revolt I shall now proceed to describe the cause, progress, and termination; and, if I know myself, without partiality or prejudice.

SECTION III.

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In the month of July 1795, two Maroons from Trelawney Town, having committed a felony in stealing some pigs, were apprehended, sent to Montego Bay, and there tried for the offence, according to law. Having been found guilty by the jury, the magistrates ordered each of them to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. The sentence was executed accordingly. They were whipped in the workhouse, by the black overseer of the workhouse negroes; the person whose office it is to instict punishment on such occasions. The offenders were then immediately discharged; and they went off, with some of their companions, abusing and insulting every white person whom they met in the road.

On their return to Trelawney Town, and giving an account of what had passed, the whole body of Maroons immediately assembled; and after violent debates and altercations among themselves, a party of them repaired to Captain Craskell, the superintendant, and ordered him, in the name of the whole, to quit the town forthwith, under pain of death. He retired to Vaughan's sield, a plantation in the neighbourhood; and exerted himself, by friendly messages and otherwise, to pacify the Maroons; but without effect. They sent a written defiance to the magistrates of Montego Bay, declaring their intention to meet the white people in arms, and threatening to attack the town on the 20th of that month (July). In the meanwhile an attempt was made on Captain Craskell's life, and he very narrowly escaped.

ALARMED by the receipt of this letter, and the intelligence which was received of the temper and disposi-

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tion of the Maroons, the magistrates applied to General APPEN-Palmer, requesting him to call out the militia; which was done; and the General fent an express to the Earl of Balcarres, in Spanish Town, praying his Lordship to fend down a detachment of the Jamaica dragoons. Eighty men were accordingly fent, well accoutred and mounted.

THE militia affembled on the 19th of July, to the number of four hundred; and while they were waiting for orders, one of the Maroons, armed with a lance, made his appearance, and informed the commanding officer; that they wished to have a conference in Trelawney Town, with John Tharp, Efg. (the Custos and Chief Magistrate of Trelawney) Messrs. Stewart and Hodges. the Members in the Assembly, and Jarvis Gallimore, Efq. Colonel of the Militia.

As this message seemed to manifest a difinclination, on the part of the chief body of the Maroons, to proceed to hostilities, the gentlemen above named very readily accepted the invitation, and proceeded to the town the next day (the 20th). They were accompanied by Colonel Thomas Reed, of the St. James's militia, a very diftinguished and gallant officer, and a man of the highest honour and character; by other persons of consideration; and also by Major James, whose fon had formerly acted as superintendant of the town, who was himself superintendant-general of all the Maroon towns in the island, and was supposed to have more weight, and to possess greater influence, with the Maroons, than any other man in the country.

THE Maroons received them under arms. There appeared about three hundred able men, all of whom had painted their faces for battle, and feemed ready for action; and they behaved with fo much infolence, that the gen-

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tlemen

APPEN-DIX. tlemen were at first exceedingly alarmed for their own safety. A conference however ensued; in which it was observable that the Maroons complained—not of the injustice or severity of the punishment which had been inflicted on two of their companions; but—of the disgrace which they insisted the magistrates of Montego Bay had put on their whole body, by ordering the punishment to be inflicted in the workhouse by the black overseer or driver, and in the presence of fugitive and selon negro slaves, many of whom they had themselves apprehended *. They concluded by demanding reparation for this indignity; an addition to the lands they possessed the dismission of Capt. Craskell, and the appointment of Mr. James, their former superintendant.

The gentlemen had certainly no authority to agree to any of these requisitions; they promised however to state their grievances to the commander in chief, and to recommend to the legislature to grant them an addition of land. In the meanwhile, they assure the Maroons they would request the Governor to provide otherwise for Capt. Craskell their superintendant, and to re-appoint in his room their savourite Mr. James. With these assurances the Maroons seemed pacified, and declared they had nothing surther to ask; and the gentlemen, having distributed a considerable sum of money amongst them, returned to Montego Bay.

IT foon appeared however, that the Maroons, in defiring this conference, were actuated folely by motives of treachery. They were apprized that a fleet of 150 ships was to fail for great Britain on the morning of the 26th;

and

^{*} It certainly is to be wished, that some little attention had been paid, by the magistrates, to the pride or the prejudices of the Maroons in this respect. The law however is wholly filent on this head, and the court had a right to exercise its discretion.

and they knew that very few British troops remained in the island, except the 83d regiment, and that this very regiment was, at that juncture, under orders to embark for St. Domingo; they hoped, therefore, by the specious and delusive appearance of desiring a conference, to quiet suspicion, until the July sleet was failed, and the regulars fairly departed. In the meanwhile, they pleased themselves with the hope of prevailing on the negro slaves throughout the Island to join them: and by rising in a mass, to enable them to exterminate the whites at a blow.

THE very day the conference was held, they began tampering with the negroes on the numerous and extensive plantations in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay*. On fome of these plantations their emissaries were condially received and secreted: on others, the slaves themselves voluntarily apprized their overseers, that the Maroons were endeavouring to seduce them from their allegiance. Information of this nature was transmitted from many respectable quarters; but most of the gentlemen who had visited the Maroons on the 20th, were so consident of their sidelity and affection, that the Governor, disbelieving the charges against them, was prevailed on to let the troops embark as originally intended, and they actually sailed from Port Royal on the morning of the 29th, under convoy of the Success frigate.

In the course of that, and the two succeeding days, however, such intelligence was received at the Government house, as left no possible room to doubt the treachery of these faithful and affectionate people; and the Earl of Balcarres, with that promptitude and decision which distinguish his character, determined on a line of conduct

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adapted

^{*} Trelawney Town is fituated within twenty miles of the town and harbour of Montego Bay.

APPEN-DIX.

adapted to the importance of the occasion. The course from Port Royal to St. Domingo (as the reader is perhaps informed) is altogether against the wind, and there is fometimes a strong lee current; as was fortunately the case at this juncture. These were favourable circumstances, and afforded the Governor room to hope that the transports which conveyed the troops might possibly be overtaken at fea, by a fast failing boat, from the east end of the island, furnished with oars for rowing in the night. His Lordship was not mistaken; the boat which was provided came up with them on the 2d of August, off the north-east end of Jamaica, and delivered orders to Captain Pigot of the Success, forthwith to change his course, and proceed with the transports down the north fide of the Island to Montego Bay. Captain Pigot immediately obeyed; and it is probable that by this happy accident the country was faved.

THE 83d regiment, confifting of upwards of one thoufand effective men, commanded by Colonel Fitch, landed at Montego Bay on Tuesday the 4th of August. At this moment, although the militia of this part of the country were under arms, and had been joined by the detachment of light dragoons, the utmost anxiety was visible in every countenance. The July fleet was failed; and the certainty that the Maroons had collected great quantities of arms and ammunition; that they had been tampering with the flaves, and the uncertainty of the fuccefs and extent of their machinations, had cast a gloom on the face of every man; and while rumours of plots and confpiracies diffracted the minds of the ignorant, many among the most thoughtful and considerate, anticipated all the horrors of St. Domingo, and in imagination already beheld their houses and plantations in flames, and their wives and children bleeding under the fwords of the most merciless of affaffins.

THE

APPEN-DIX.

THE sudden and unexpected arrival of so powerful a reinforcement, in the most critical moment, immediately changed the scene. But further measures were adopted. By the advice of a council of war, composed chiefly of members of the Assembly, the Governor put the whole island under martial law. A further reinforcement of 130 well-mounted dragoons under the command of Colonel Sandford, and a detachment of 100 men of the 62d regiment, were fent down on the 3d: Colonel Walpole, with 150 dismounted dragoons, embarked at the fame time for Black River, to command the forces of St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland, and on the morning of the 4th, the Governor himself left Spanish Town for Montego Bay; determined to command on the scene of action in person.

THE reader will eafily conceive, that measures of such extent and magnitude were not adopted folely in the belief that the Maroons alone were concerned. It must be repeated, that the most certain and abundant proofs had been transmitted to the commander in chief, of their attempts to create a general revolt of the enflaved negroes, and it was impossible to foresee the result. The situation of the flaves, under prevailing circumstances, required the most ferious attention. With the recent example before their eyes of the dreadful infurrection in St. Domingo, they had been accustomed, for the preceding feven years, to hear of nothing but Mr. Wilberforce, and his efforts to ferve them in Great Britain. Means of information were not wanting. Instructors were constantly found among the black fervants continually returning from England; and I have not the smallest doubt that the negroes on every plantation in the West Indies, were taught to believe that their mafters were generally confidered in the mother-country, as a fet of odious and

abominable miscreants, whom it was laudable to massacre! Nn 4

APPEN-

THE wisdom, decision, and activity of the Earl of Balcarres, on the present occasion, deseated their projects. The effect of his Lordship's conduct thencesorward, on the minds of the enslaved negroes throughout the whole country, was wonderful. Submission, tranquillity, and good order prevailed universally among them. The circumstance attending the return of the 83d regiment, induced them to believe that Heaven itself had declared in favour of the whites, and that all attempts at resistance were unavailing and impious.

THE Maroons themselves became divided in their councils. Many of the old and experienced among them, even in Trelawney Town, the head quarters of sedition, recommended peace; and advised their companions to postpone their vengeance to a better opportunity; and the whole of the Acompong people declared in savour of the whites. It was determined, however, by a very great majority of the Trelawney Maroons, to fight the Bucras (meaning the white people). The violent councils of the younger part of their community prevailed; most of whom were instanced with a degree of savage sury against the whites, which set at nought all considerations of prudence and policy.

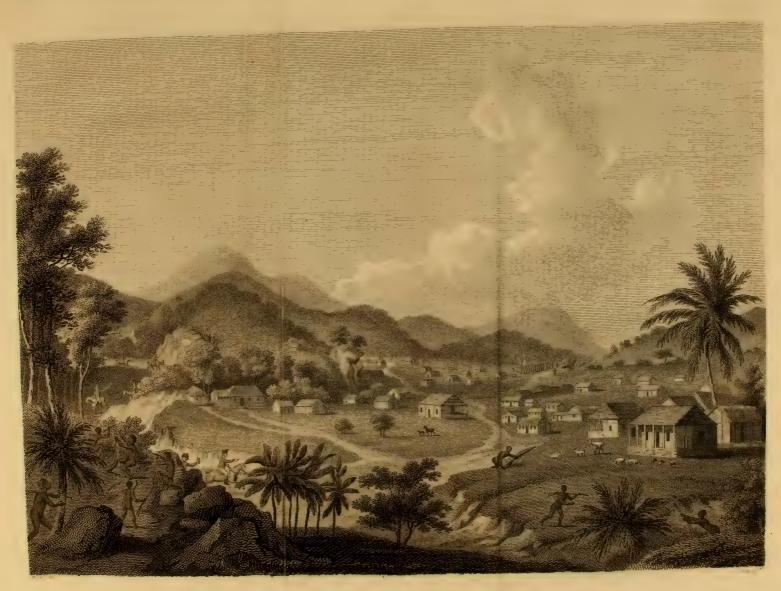
THE commander in chief, however, previous to any hostile movement, determined to try once more to effect an accommodation. As it was evident the Maroons confulted some person who could read and write, his Lordship, on the 8th of August, sent into their town a written message or summons in the following words:

To the Marsons of Trelawney Town.

"You have entered into a most unprovoked, ungrateful, and most dangerous rebellion.

" You





TRELAWNEY TOWN, the CHIEF RESIDENCE of the MAROONS.

Published Sept, 25, 1800, by John Stockdale, Piccadilly .

DIX.

WYou have driven away the superintendant placed APPENover you by the laws of this country.

"You have treated him, your Commander, with indignity and contempt. You have endeavoured to maffacre him.

"You have put the Magistrates of the country, and all the white people, at defiance.

"You have challenged and offered them battle.

"You have forced the country, which has long cherished and fostered you as its children, to consider you as an enemy.

" Martial law has in consequence been proclaimed.

"Every pass to your town has been occupied and guarded by the militia and regular forces.

"You are furrounded by thousands.

"Look at Montego Bay, and you will fee the force brought against vou.

"I have iffued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads; that terrible edict will not be put in force before Thursday, the 13th day of August.

. " To avert these proceedings, I advise and command every Maroon of Trelawney Town, capable of bearing arms, to appear before me at Montego Bay, on Wednesday the 12th day of August instant, and there fubmit themselves to his Majesty's mercy.

"On so doing, you will escape the effects of the dreadful command, ordered to be put into execution on Thurfday, the 13th day of August; on which day, in failure of your obedience to this fummons, your town shall be burnt to the ground, and for ever destroyed.

"AND whereas it appears that other negroes, besides the Maroons of Trelawney Town, were there under arms on the day that town was visited by John Tharp, Esq. and several other magistrates of the parish of Trelawney, you are strictly commanded and enjoined to bring such

stranger

HISTORY OF THE

554

APPEN- stranger negroes to Montego Bay, as prisoners, on or before the beforementioned Wednesday, the 12th day of August instant.

"BALCARRES."

APPREHENSIVE, however, that this fummons would have but little effect, the Governor at the same time gave orders that the regulars and militia should take possession of all the known paths leading to Trelawney Town from the furrounding parishes; and the troops arrived at their respective stations early on the 9th.

On the morning of the 11th, thirty-eight of the Trelawney Maroons, being chiefly old men, furrendered themselves to the Governor's mercy, at Vaughan's-field, and frankly declared, that, with regard to the rest of the town, they were determined on war. "The devil, they faid, had got into them," and nothing but superiority of force would bring them to reason.

Two of the thirty-eight were, however, fent back to try, for the last time, if persuasion would avail; but they were detained by the rest, who, having secreted their women and children, passed the Rubicon the ensuing night, by fetting fire themselves to their town, and commencing hostilities on the outposts of the army. The attack fell chiefly on the St. James's company of free people of colour, of whom two were killed and fix wounded: and thus began this unfortunate war.

THE Maroons immediately afterwards affembled in a body, near a small village which was called their New Town, behind which were their provision grounds .- On the afternoon of the 12th, orders were given to Lieutenant Colonel Sandford to march with a detachment of the 18th and 20th dragoons, and a party of the horse militia, and take possession of those grounds the same evening; it being the Governor's intention to attack the Maroons at the

fame

APPEN-

same time, in front. Colonel Sandford proceeded accordingly, accompanied by a body of volunteers; but having been informed that the Maroons had retired to the ruins of their old town, he was perfuaded, instead of waiting at his post for further orders from the Governor, to proceed beyond his limits, and to pulh after the enemy; a most unfortunate and fatal determination, to which this gallant officer, and many valuable men, fell a facrifice. The retreat of the Maroons from the New Town, was a feint to draw the whites into an ambuscade, which unfortunately fucceeded. The road between the new and old towns was very bad and very narrow; and the troops had marched about half way, the regulars in front, the militia in the centre, and the volunteers in the rear, when a heavy fire enfued from the bushes. Colonel Sandford was among the first that fell, and with him perished Quarter Master MeBride, fix privates of the 20th, and eight of the 18th light dragoons. Of the militia, thirteen were flain outright, and, among the rest, the commanding officer, Colonel Gallimore; eight of the volunteers also were killed, and many of all descriptions wounded. The troops, however, pushed forward, and drove the Maroons from their hiding places, and after a night of unparalleled hardship, the survivors got back to Vaughan's-field in the morning, and brought with them most of their wounded companions *.

* Among the officers of the militia who escaped on this occasion, was my late excellent and lamented friend George Goodin Barrett. He was attended on that day by a favourite Negro Servant; of whom it is related that, during the first attack, perceiving a Maroon from behind a tree present his gun at his beloved master, he instantly rushed forward to protect him, by interposing his own person; and actually received the shot in his breast. I rejoice to add, that the wound was not mortal, and that the poor fellow has been rewarded as he deserved, for such an instance of heroick sidelity as history has seldom recorded.

THUS

APPEN-DIX.

THUS terminated this difastrous and bloody conflict; in which it was never known with certainty, that a fingle Maroon loft his life. Their triumph therefore was great, and many of the best informed among the planters, in confequence of it, again anticipated the most dreadful impending calamities. So general was the alarm, that the Governor thought it necessary, in a proclamation which he issued on the occasion, to make publick the orders he had given to Colonel Sandford, and to declare in express terms, that if the detachment under that officer's command had remained at the post which it was directed to occupy, the Maroons, in all probability, would have been compelled to furrender themselves prisoners of war. "Soldiers will learn from this fatal lesson (adds his Lordthip most truly) the indispensible necessity of strictly adhering to orders. An excess of ardour is often as prejudicial to the accomplishment of any military enterprize, as cowardice itself."-The truth was, that the whole detachment held the enemy in too great contempt. They marched forth in the confidence of certain victory, and never having had any experience of the Maroons mode of fighting, difregarded the advice of fome faithful negro attendants, who apprized them of it. Happily the class of people on whom the Maroons relied for support, remained peaceably disposed; nor did an instance occur to raise a doubt of their continuing to do fo.

By the death of Sandford, the command, in the Governor's absence, devolved on Colonel Fitch, an officer whose general deportment and character excited great expectation; but the Maroons sound means to elude his vigilance. They had now established their head quarters at a place in the interior country, of most difficult access, called the *Cockpits*; a sort of valley or dell, surpounded by steep precipices and broken rocks, and by mountains of prodigious height; in the caverns of which

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they had secreted their women and children, and deposited APPENtheir ammunition. From this retreat (almost inaccessible to any but themselves) they sent out small parties of their ablest and most enterprizing young men, some of which were employed in prowling about the country in fearch of provisions, and others in setting fire by night to such houses and plantations as were unprovided with a fufficient guard. In the beginning of September, they burnt the habitation and fettlement of Mr. George Gordon, called Kenmure; and foon afterwards the dwellinghouse and buildings of a coffee plantation, called Lapland; the proprietor too fustained the still greater loss of thirty valuable negroes, whom the Maroons compelled to go with them, loaden with plunder. Another plantation, called Catadupa, was destroyed by them in the same manner, and ten of the negroes carried off. About the same time, they burnt the property of John Shand, Efq.; a fettlement belonging to Messrs. Stevens and Bernard, a

AT these places several white people unfortunately fell into their hands, all of whom were murdered in cold blood, without any distinction of fex, or regard to age. Even women in childbed, and infants at the breaft, were alike indifcriminately flaughtered by this favage enemy; and the shrieks of the miserable victims, which were distinctly heard at the posts of the British detachments, frequently conveyed the first notice, that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood.

plantation called Bandon, a house of a Mr. Lewis, and

various others.

THE fate of Mr. Gowdie, a respectable and venerable planter, who lived within a few miles of Trelawney Town, was remarkable. This gentleman, having a better opinion of the Maroons than they deserved, had employed one of their chief men to act as the overfeer or superintendant of his plantation, whom he treated with fingular

APPEN-DIX.

fingular kindness, and allowed him the same wages as would have been paid to a white person in the same capacity. Although, on the commencement of hostilities, this man had joined the infurgents, Mr. Gowdie continued to place a fatal dependance on his fidelity, and was induced to vifit his own plantation, as often as his necessary attendance on military duty would allow. He had the most perfect confidence that his Maroon overseer would interfere to protect him from danger; yet did this barbarous villain come himself to the house of his benefactor, at the head of a band of favages, and having coolly informed Mr. Gowdie, that the Maroons had taken an oath, after their manner, to murder all the whites without distinction, he massacred both him and his nephew (the only white person with him) without compunction or remorfe.

Bur, perhaps, no one circumstance in the course of this most unfortunate war excited greater indignation, or awakened more general fympathy, than the death of Colonel Fitch, who, notwithstanding the recent example of Colonel Sandford's fate, perished nearly in the same manner as that unfortunate officer had done; being like him furprifed by an enemy in ambush. On the 12th of September he went out with a detachment of the 83d regiment, confifting of thirty-two men, to relieve some diftant out-posts; at one of which he left a guard, and proeeeded onwards with the reft of his men; but after getting about half a mile farther, he was attacked by a volley of musquetry from the bushes, and received a wound in the breast, with which he dropt. After expressing a wish, and receiving affurances, that he should not fall alive into the hands of the merciless savages, he raised himself up; when another ball took place in his forehead, which instantly put an end to his life. A corporal and three privates of the 83d, and two negro fervants, were also killed,

and

APPEN-

and Captain Leigh and nine of the party wounded; and if the guard, which had been left behind, had not pushed forward to their affiftance, immediately on hearing the firing, not one of the whole detachment would have escaped with life; two of them actually fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death with circumstances of outrageous barbarity, and Captain Leigh afterwards died of his wounds. The misfortune of this day was aggravated too by a circumstance, which, though shocking to relate, must not be omitted, as it strongly marks the base and ferocious character of the Maroons. When the remains of Colonel Fitch were found, a day or two afterwards, by a party fent to give them the rites of fepulture, it was perceived that the head had been separated from the body; and was entombed in the ill-fated officer's own bowels!

IT now became evident, that it would prove a work of greater difficulty than was imagined, to ftop the depredations which were daily and hourly committed by this horde of favages, and it was allowed that extraordinary measures were necessary in order to counteract their constant practice of planting ambushes. Neither the courage nor conduct of the best disciplined troops in the world could always avail against men, who, lurking in secret like the tygers of Africa, (themselves unseen) had no object but murder. The legislative bodies of the island were soon to meet, and the hopes of the whole community rested on their councils.

SECTION IV.

APPEN-DIX.

THE General Affembly was convened the latter end of September, and their first deliberations were directed to the subject of the Maroon rebellion, with a folicitude equal to its importance. On this occafion it was natural to recur to the experience of former times, and enquire into the measures that had been succefsfully adopted in the long and bloody war, which, previous to the treaty of 1738, had been carried on against the fame enemy. The expedient which had then been reforted to, of employing dogs to discover the concealment of the Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects which refulted from their mode of fighting in ambuscade, was recommended as a fit example to be followed in the prefent conjuncture; and it being known that the Spanish Americans possessed a certain species of those animals, which it was judged would be proper for fuch a fervice, the Assembly resolved to send to the island of Cuba for one hundred of them, and to engage a fufficient number of the Spanish huntsmen, to attend and direct their operations. The employment to which thefe dogs are generally put by the Spaniards, is the pursuit of wild bullocks, which they flaughter for the hides; and the great use of the-dog is to drive the cattle from such heights and recesses in the mountainous parts of the country, as are least accessible to the hunters.

THE Affembly were not unapprized that the meafure of calling in fuch auxiliaries, and urging the canine species to the pursuit of human beings, would probably give rise to much observation and animadversion in the mother-

mother-country. Painful experience on other occasions, APPENhad taught them, that their conduct in the present case, would be fcrutinized with all the rigid and jealous circumspection, which ignorance and hatred, and envy and malice, and pretended humanity, and fanaticism, could exercife. The horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conquest of the new world, would be brought again to remembrance. It is mournfully true, that dogs were used by those christian barbarians against the peaceful and inoffensive Americans, and the just indignation of all mankind has ever fince branded, and will continue to brand, the Spanish nation with infamy, for such atrocities. It was foreseen, and strongly urged as an argument against recurring to the same weapon in the present case, that the prejudices of party and the virulent zeal of faction and bigotry, would place the proceedings of the Affembly on this occasion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the same blood-stained theatre, in times paft. No reasonable allowance would be made for the wide difference existing between the two cases. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with British troops, would give not only a cruel, but also a very dastardly complexion to the proceedings of government.

To these, and similar objections it was answered, that the fafety of the island, and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be facrificed to perverse misconstruction or wilful mifrepresentation in the mothercountry. It was maintained that the grounds of the measure needed only to be fully examined into, and fairly stated, to induce all reasonable men to admit its propriety and necessity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as instruments of war, is a position contradicted by the practice of all nations.—The Afiaticks have ever used Vol. I. Oø elephants

APPEN- elephants in their battles; and if lions and tygers possessed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that these also would be made to affift the military operations of man, in those regions of which they are inhabitants. Even the use of cavalry, as established among the most civilized and polished nations of Europe, must be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein, it was asked, does the humanity of that doctrine confift, which allows the employment of troops of horse in the pursuit of difcomfitted and flying infantry; yet shrinks at the preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and roufing from ambush favages more ferocious and bloodthirsty than the animals which track them?

THE merits of the question, it was faid, depended altogether on the origin and cause of the war; and the objects fought to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of the first writers on publick law, was adduced in support of this construction. " If the cause and end of war (fays Paley*) be justifiable, all the means that appear necessary to that end are justifiable also. This is the principle which defends those extremities to which the violence of war usually proceeds: for since war is a contest by force between parties who acknowledge no common superior, and since it includes not in its idea the supposition of any convention which should place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates; the destruction of the life against which the force is directed." It was allowed (with the same author) that gratuitous barbarities borrow no excuse from the licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and every infult that ferves only to exasperate the fufferings, or to incense the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his strength, or in any manner tend-

^{*} Moral Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 417.

DIX.

ing to procure his fubmission; such as the slaughter of APPENcaptives, the subjecting them to indignities or torture, the violation of women, and in general the destruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. These enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itfelf; as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or accomplish the object of the war; and as containing that which in peace and war is equally unjustifiable, namely, ultimate and gratuitous mischief. Now all these very enormities were practised, not by the Whites against the Maroons, but by the Maroons themselves against the Whites. Humanity therefore, it was faid, was no way concerned in the fort of expedient that was proposed, or any other, by which such an enemy could most speedily be extirpated. They were not an unarmed, innocent and defenceless race of men, like the ancient Americans; but a banditti of affaffins: and tenderness towards fuch an enemy, was cruelty to all the rest of the community.

HAPPILY, in the interval between the determination of the Assembly to procure the Spanish dogs, and the actual arrival of those auxiliaries from Cuba, such meafures were purfued as promifed to render their affiftance altogether unnecessary. On the death of Colonel Fitch, the chief conduct of the war, in the absence of the Governor, was entrusted to Major General Walpole, an officer whose indefatigable zeal and alacrity, whose gallantry, circumspection, and activity, in a very short time gave a new aspect to affairs, and reduced the enemy to the last extremity. Although the country to which the Maroons retired, was perhaps the strongest and most impracticable of any on the face of the earth, it, was entirely destitute of springs and rivers. All the water which the rains had left in the hollows of the 002

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APPEN-DIX. rocks was exhausted, and the enemy's only resource was in the leaves of the wild-pine; a wonderful contrivance, by which Divine Providence has rendered the sterile and rocky defarts of the torrid zone in some degree habitable*; but even this resource was at length exhausted, and the sufferings of the rebels, for want both of water and food, were excessive. By the unremitting diligence and indefatigable exertions of the troops, all or most of the passes to other parts of the country were effectually occupied; and a perseverance in the same system must, it was thought, soon force the enemy to an unconditional furrender.

In spite of all these precautions, however, a rebel Captain of the name of Johnson, sound means to conduct a small detachment of the Maroons into the parish of St. Elizabeth, and to set fire to many of the plantations in that fertile district. His first attempt was against the habitation of a Mr. McDonald, whose neighbour, a Mr. Haldane, together with his son, hastened to his affistance. The elder Haldane unfortunately fell by a muschet ball, but the son shot the Maroon dead that fired it, and carried his wounded father in his arms to a place of safety, where he happily recovered.—The Maroons were repulsed; but proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks, they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men. They left, however, a white woman and her infant unmolested; and as this was

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^{*} The botanical name is Tillandfia maxima. It is not, properly speaking, a tree, but a plant, which fixes itself and takes root on the body of a tree, commonly in the fork of the greater branches of the wild cotton tree. By the conformation of its leaves, it catches and retains water from every shower. Each leaf resembles a spout, and forms at its base a natural bucket or reservoir, which contains about a quart of pure water, where it remains perfectly secure, both from the wind and the sun; yielding refreshment to the thirsty traveller in places where water is not otherwise to be precured.

the first instance of tenderness shewn by the rebels to APPENwomen and children, it was imputed rather to the consciousness of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their disposition.

THE earl of Balcarres, as foon as the bufiness of the Affembly would allow him to be abfent from the capital, returned in person to the scene of action, and it is imposfible to speak of his, and general Walpole's exertions, in terms of sufficient approbation, or to convey any just idea of the fatigues and hardships which the troops underwent, without entering into a copious detail of the various enterprizes and skirmishes that ensued, and the difficulties they had to encounter from the nature of the country. The line of operation extended upwards of twenty miles in length, through tracks and glades of which the military term defile, gives no adequate conception. The caves in which the Maroons concealed their ammunition and provisions, and secured their women and children, were inaccessible to the Whites. The place called the Cockpits before mentioned, could be reached only by a path down a steep rock 150 feet in almost perpendicular height. Strange as it may appear, this obstacle was surmounted by the Maroons without difficulty. Habituated to employ their naked feet with fingular effect, in climbing up trees and precipices, they had acquired a dexterity in the practice, which to British troops was altogether astonishing and wholly inimitable. On the other hand, all the officers and privates, both of the regulars and militia, from a well-founded confidence in their chief commanders, feem to bave felt a noble emulation which should most diffinguish themselves for zeal in the cause, obedience to orders, and a cheerful alacrity in pushing forward on every fervice of difficulty and danger; fuftaining without a murmur many extraordinary hardships; am ng 003

APPEN-DIX. which, diffress for want of water, and thirst even to extremity, were none of the least.

IT was eafily foreseen that a perseverance in the same line of conduct, must ultimately prove successful; and intimations were at length received, by means of enflaved negroes whom the Maroons had forced into their fervice, and purpofely dismissed, that they were extremely defirous of an accommodation, on any terms short of capital punishment, or transportation from the country. They expressed a willingness, it was said, to deliver up their arms, and all the fugitive flaves that had joined them, to furrender their lands, and intermix with the general body of free blacks, in fuch parts of the country as the colonial government should approve. Although these overtures were evidently dictated by deprecation and despair, it was the opinion of many wise and worthy men among the inhabitants, that they ought to be accepted; and it was faid that General Walpole himself concurred in the fame fentiment. It was urged that the war, if continued on the only principle by which it could be maintained, must be a war of extermination. Some few of the Maroons, however, would probably elude the last pursuit of vengeance; and these would form a central point to which the runaway negroes would refort. Thus hostilities would be perpetuated for ever; and it was observed that a fingle Maroon, in the season of crop, with no other weapon than a firebrand, might destroy the canefields of many opulent parishes, and consume in a few hours, property of immense value. To these considerations, was to be added the vast expence of continuing the war. The country had already expended f.500,000, exclusive of the loss which was sustained by individual proprietors confequent on the removal from their plantations of all the white fervants, to attend military duty. In the meanwhile, cultivation was suspended, the courts of law had long been shut up; and the island at large seemed more like a garrison, under the power of the law-martial, than a country of agriculture and commerce, of civil judicature, industry and prosperity.

On the other hand, it was loudly declared that a compromise with a lawless banditti, who had slaughtered so many excellent men, and had murdered in cold blood even women in child-bed, and infants at the breast, was a shameful facrifice of the publick honour; a total difregard to the dictates of justice; an encouragement to the rest of the Maroons to commit similar outrages, and a dreadful example to the negroes in servitude; tending to impress on their minds an idea not of the lenity of the Whites, but of their inability to punish such atrocious offenders. It was alledged withal, that the rebel Maroons were not themselves seriously desirous of such an accommodation. Their only purpose was to gain time, and procure an opportunity to get into better quarters; judging perhaps that the militia of the country, a large proportion of whom were at the distance of one hundred miles from their places of refidence, would foon be tired of the contest. Many facts were indeed related, and some strong circumstances adduced, which gave a colour to this charge; and proved that the Maroons had not altogether relinquished their hopes of creating a general revolt among the enflaved negroes. Such an event was not likely to happen, while the country continued in arms. The difiniffion of the troops, on the fallacious idea of an accommodation with the Maroons, would alone, it was faid, realize the danger.

FORTUNATELY for all parties, this unnatural and defunctive revolt, was brought to a happy termination much fooner than might have been apprehended. On the 14th of December, the commissioner who went to the Havan-

APPEN-DIX.

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APPEN- nah for affiftance, arrived at Montego Bay with forty chasseurs or Spanish hunters (chiefly people of colour) and about one hundred Spanish dogs. Such extraordinary accounts were immediately spread of the terrifick appearance, and favage nature of these animals, as made an impression on the minds of the negroes that was equally furprising and unexpected*.

WHETHER these reports were propagated through folly or defign, they had certainly a powerful and very falutary effect on the fears of the rebel Maroons, a large party of whom now displayed strong and indubitable evidences of terror, humiliation, and fubmission, and renewed their folicitations for peace with great earnestness and anxiety. A negociation was at length opened, and a treaty concluded on the 21st of December, of which the chief articles were, 1st. That the Maroons should, on their knees, ask the King's pardon. 2dly. That they should fix their future residence in such part of the island, as the legislature should point out: And 3dly. That they should deliver up all the fugitive negro slaves that had joined them. On these conditions it was stipulated and agreed, that their lives should be granted them, and that they should not be transported from the island; and they were allowed ten days to collect their families and perform the treaty.

^{*} Though these dogs are not in general larger than the shepherds dogs in Great Britain, (which in truth they much resemble) they were repretented as equal to the mastisf in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in scent, and to the grey-hound in agility. If entire credit had been given to the description that was transmitted through the country of this extraordinary animal, it might have been supposed that the Spaniards had obtained the ancient and genuine breed of Cerberus himtelf, the many-headed monster that guarded the infernal regions.

APPEN-

So great however was the terror of these wretched people, arising from the consciousness of their enormities, or their unaccountable infatuation, that only twenty-one of their number surrendered by the time limited; and thirteen others three days afterwards.

On the 14th of January, therefore, orders were iffued from the commander in chief to General Walpole, to march without further delay against the rebels. These orders were punctually obeyed; but, from regard to humanity, the Spanish dogs were ordered in the rear of the army. The effect, however, was immediate. General Walpole had advanced but a short way in the woods, when a supplication for mercy was brought him from the enemy, and 260 of them soon afterwards surrendered on no other condition than a promise of their lives. It is pleasing to observe, that not a drop of blood was spilt after the dogs arrived in the issand.

Some of the young men, however, still held out, and it was not until the middle of March that the rebellion was entirely extinguished by the surrender of the whole body; nor even then, or at any time before, were any of the fugitive negroes that had joined them delivered up.

It might be supposed therefore, that no question could have arisen whether the treaty was observed or not, on the part of the Maroons. Nevertheless it did so happen, that doubts on this head were suggested on such respectable authority, as induced the commander in chief, with great prudence and propriety, to leave the whole matter to the investigation and determination of the Council and Assembly, who appointed a joint and secret committee to receive evidence and report on the facts before them.

On the report of this Committee the Assembly, by a majority of 21 to 13, came to the following resolutions, among others, viz.

" THAT

APPEN-DIX. "THAT all the Maroons who furrendered after the first of January, not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought to be shipped off the island; but that they ought to be fent to a country in which they will be free, and such as may be best calculated, by situation, to secure the island against the danger of their return; that they ought to be provided with suitable clothing and necessaries for the voyage, and maintained at the publick expence of this island for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination.

"THAT it is the opinion of this House, that as there may be among the rebels a few who, by their repentance, fervices, and good behaviour, fince their surrender, have merited protection and savour, it be recommended to the lieutenant-governor to permit such to remain in the island, together with their wives and children; and to distinguish them by any other marks of savour he may think proper."

Or the policy of ridding the country of fuch an enemy (admitting the justice of the war on the part of the Whites) there could not have been, I fhould have thought, but one opinion. After fuch a war, carried on in fuch a manner, it is impossible to believe, that a cordial reconciliation between the white inhabitants and the Maroons could ever have taken place. The latter would probably have continued a fullen, fubjugated people, employed only in feducing the enflaved negroes from their fidelity, and ready to revolt themselves, whenever occasion should offer. "No country on earth," fays Rutherford, "would fuffer a body of men to live within its territories, unless they would agree to be accountable to its laws, as far as the general fecurity requires." To expect fuch conduct from the Maroons, was to manifest a total ignorance of their disposition. The determination therefore of the legislature

legislature of the colony to transport these people from the island being thus fixed, it remains only to point out in what manner it was enforced.

APPEN-

In the beginning of June 1796, his Majesty's ship the Dover, with two transports in company, having on board the Trelawney Maroons (in number about fix hundred) provided with all manner of necessaries, as well for their accommodation at fea, as for the change of climate, failed from Blue-fields in Jamaica, for Halifax in North America. They were accompanied by William Dawes Quarrell, and Alexander Ouchterlony, Esquires, commissioners appointed by the Assembly, with authority and instructions (subject to his Majesty's approbation and further orders) to purchase lands in Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, or where elie his Majesty should please to appoint, for the future establishment and subsistence of those Maroons, as a free people. The commissioners had orders withal, to provide them the means of a comfortable maintenance, until they were habituated to the country and chimate. The fum of f. 25,000 was allowed by the affembly for those purposes. They arrived at Halifax in the month of July, and the following letter from Sir John Wentworth, Bart, the governor of the province, to a friend in London, dated the 10th of November, 1796, will convey to the reader the clearest and most satisfactory account of their reception in the province, and of the measures happily adopted for their future establishment and improvement. With this letter, which I have been permitted to copy from the original, I shall close my account.

"THE Maroons are now comfortably fettled, and their fituation will be daily improving. They are hitherto quiet, orderly, and contented. I have long had experience useful for this occasion, and have not a doubt, but that these will be an happy and useful people. In this country they can do no harm; nor do they seem disposed

APPEN=

to do any. They are exceedingly attached to me. I have appointed a missionary and chaplain, with an assistant teacher, to perform the fervice of the church of England; to instruct them in Christianity, and to teach the youth and children to read, write, and cypher. Last Sunday I attended publick worship in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and most exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due course. They are folicitous for this duty, and appear defirous of instruction, from whence civilization will naturally refult. The climate is and will be falutary to them. The children were emaciated, and most of the adults worn down by war, imprisonment, and sea-sickness: they are now healthy, strong, and as hearty as any white people in the province. They are therefore, and I have no doubt will continue to be, infinitely benefited by their removal to Nova Scotia; and the most judicious and fenfible among them, are perfectly fatisfied, and happy in their future prospects."

The following Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly, are added by way of Illustration.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

Friday, April 22, 1796.

RESOLVED, nem. con. That the Receiver General do remit the fum of feven hundred guineas to the agent of the island, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Right Hon. ALEXANDER Earl of BALCAR-

DIX.

BALCARRES, as a testimony of the grateful sense which APPENthe House entertain of his distinguished services, displayed both in the field and cabinet; and under whose auspices, by the bleffing of Divine Providence, a happy and complete termination has been put to a most dangerous rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons, whereby the general value of property, as well as fecurity of the island, have been highly augmented.

ORDERED, that a copy of the above resolution be sent to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

RESOLVED, nem. con. That Mr. Speaker be requested to present the thanks of the House to the Hon. Major-General WALPOLE, for the fignal fervices performed by him to this island, in the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

RESOLVED, nem con. That the Receiver-General do remit to the agent of this island, five hundred guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Hon. Major-General WALPOLE; as a testimony of the grateful sense which the House entertain of his important fervices and diffinguished merit, in the suppression of the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

RESOLVED, nem. con. That Mr. Speaker be requested to give the thanks of the House to the brave Officers and Privates of the regulars and militia, for their gallant fervices to the island, during the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons; and that the Commander in Chief, under whose auspices they fought, be requested by Mr. Speaker, to communicate the high fense which the House entertain of their distinguished merit.

Thursday, April 28.

A Motion being made, that a Committee be appointed to enquire and report to the House the names of such persons as have fallen in battle during the late rebellion,

DIX.

APPEN- that a monument may be erected to perpetuate their memories, and the gratitude of this country for their eminent fervices;

> ORDERED, that Mr. Fitch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Mathison, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Hodges, be a Committee for that purpose.

Saturday, April 30.

THE Lieutenant-Governor's answer to the message from the House, with the resolution of the 22d inst.

> Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Affembly,

THE prefent you have made me, by your unanimous resolution of the 22d instant, is inestimable.

A foldier's honour, with emblem and emphasis, is placed in his fword; and I shall transmit your precious gift to my posterity, as an everlasting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and the gratitude, I bear to the island of Jamaica.

BALCARRES.

THE following address was this day presented to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor:

WE, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Affembly of Jamaica, beg leave to offer to your honour, our most fincere and cordial congratulations on the happy and complete termination of the rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

This great and important event must be productive of fubstantial benefits and salutary consequences to the country; in every point of view in which it can be contemplated: tranquillity and the enjoyment of our civil rights, are restored; publick credit, so essential to the

Support of government, and to the prosperity, if not to the very existence of the country, is re-established, and our internal security greatly increased and confirmed.

From all these inestimable advantages, we look forward with confidence to the augmentation of the value of property, which is likely to take place; and which, in time, we trust, will compensate all the losses and expenditure of treasure unavoidably incurred in the prosecution of the war.

It is with peculiar fatisfaction and gratitude we acknowledge the lively impression made on us by the energy displayed by your Lordship in difficult operations of war; which affords the most convincing proof, that the zeal, ardour, and activity manifested in your military conduct, have only been equalled by the sound policy, and decisive measures, which marked the wisdom of your councils.

HIS HONOUR'S ANSWER.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

Your address excites in my bosom every sensation of pleasure, the mind of man is capable of receiving.

THE picture you have drawn of the future prosperity of the Island, is strong and impressive.

AFTER contemplating the unavoidable calamities of war, a fentiment arises, grateful and soothing to a feeling heart—

THAT, during your contest with an enemy the most ferocious that ever difgraced the annals of history:

THAT, during your contest with an army of savages, who have indiscriminately massacred every prisoner whom the fortune of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a single act of retaliation, has sullied the brightness of your arms.

I PRAY

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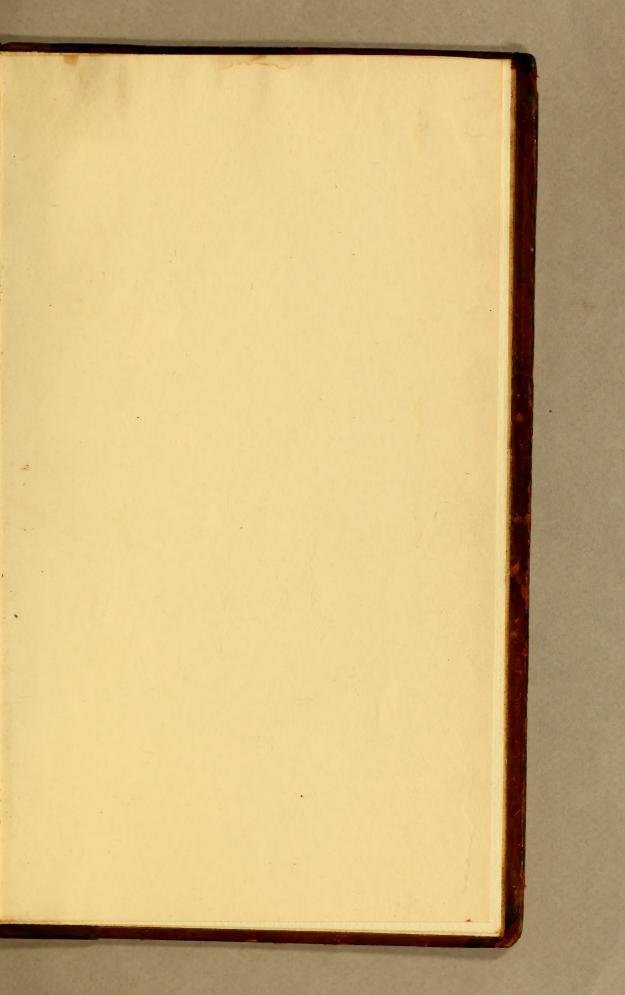
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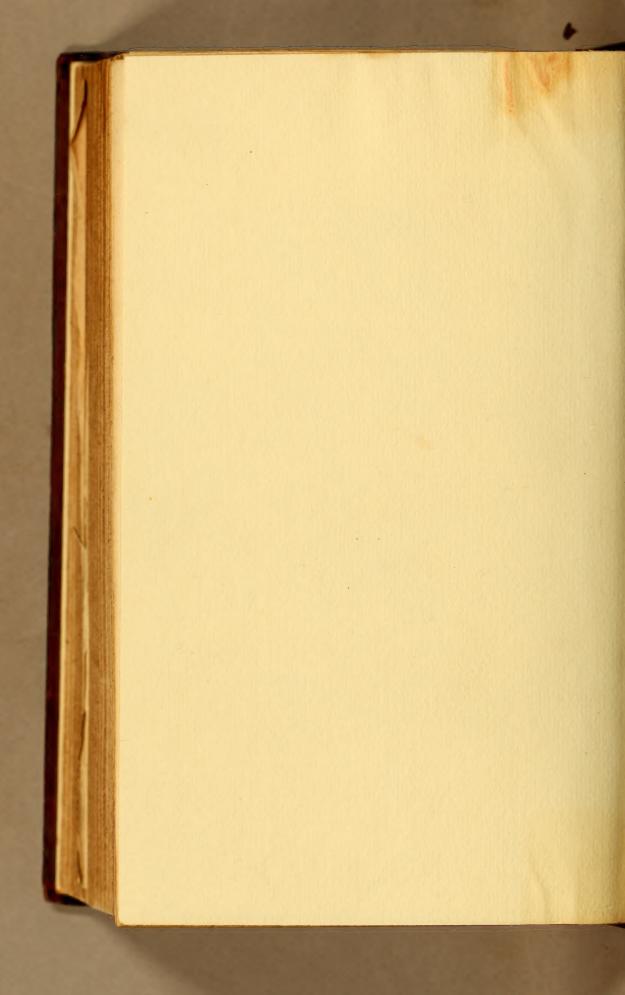
I PRAY that the energy, the vigour, and the humanity, which you have so honourably displayed, may descend to your children; and secure to them for ever, those bleffings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illustrious House of Hanover.

IT must not be omitted (though I mention it with great concern) that Major-General Walpole, being disfatisfied with the resolution of the Legislature to transport the Maroons from the country, declined the acceptance of the sword voted by the Assembly.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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